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Camden SOCIETY, LONDON

PUBLICATIONS

NO. 64

AN ENGLISH CHRONICLE

OF THE REIGNS OF

RICHARD II., HENRY IV., HENRY V., AND HENRY VI.

WRITTEN BEFORE THE YEAR 1471;

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING THE 18TH AND 19TH YEARS OF RICHARD II. AND THE
PARLIAMENT AT BURY ST. EDMUND'S, 25TH HENRY VI.

AND

SUPPLEMENTARY ADDITIONS FROM THE COTTON. MS. CHRONICLE
CALLED "EULOGIUM."

EDITED BY

THE REV. JOHN SILVESTER DAVIES, M.A.

OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

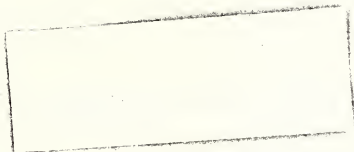


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[NO. LXIV.]

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PREFACE.

THE Early English manuscript Chronicle, from which the following pages are printed, is a version of the English Chronicle called the Brute. Attention was first invited to it through the medium of Notes and Queries, and by the courtesy of William J. Thoms, esq. the editor of that publication, an opinion was obtained from sir Frederick Madden, which resulted in the issue of the present volume by the Camden Society. The manuscript itself is still deposited in a private library, as it has been for more than two hundred years, and therefore cannot be generally accessible.*

Sir Frederick Madden found that the writer of the Chronicle had followed the prose English Chronicle called the Brute, as far as the end of Edward III. without introducing any important variation from the received text, with the exception of a new story relative to bishop Grostete's difference with pope Innocent IV. But from the beginning of the reign of Richard II. the matter was found more valuable; large and curious additions occur, though the text of the Brute remains as before the thread of the narrative. It is this portion of the history which is now for the first time printed.

Sir Frederick Madden discovered in the margins of the manuscript, particularly towards the close, several notes in the hand-writing of Stowe, who has freely used this history in his Annals, though without specifying it. Perhaps, therefore, our manuscript was one of

* It is in the possession of John Speed Davies, esq. the Editor's father, to whom it has descended through the Speeds, from its last user John Speed the chronologer.

those "dangerous books of superstition," the fame of which brought upon Stowe a commission of inquiry in 1568.*

At Stowe's death, in April 1605, his valuable library was dispersed, and the manuscript of the following Chronicle no doubt at that time fell into the hands of John Speed the chronologer, already for some few years known to the literary world, under the patronage of sir Fulk Greville afterwards lord Brooke, fortified too with the friendship of Camden, Cotton, Spelman, and others, his immediate contemporaries, and with the countenance of John Stowe. Speed's Theatre of Great Britain had appeared in 1596; the first edition of his History was issued in 1614.

Speed has used this Chronicle in the earlier part of his History, apparently contented with Stowe's copious extracts in the latter part. Occasionally he has quoted the language, and has also left some marginal notes in his handwriting, as appears by comparing them with "David's harp tuned unto Teares," a manuscript of the historian's, presented, as a note on the fly-leaf states, to his son John Speed the anatomist, of St. John's College, Oxford, on April 19th, 1628.

Unfortunately neither Stowe nor Speed help us to discover who the writer of the Chronicle was, or where it was written. Stowe, while transcribing pages, has never acknowledged his obligation; Speed was ignorant of its history, and quotes it as "Antiq. MS.," "an old MS.," "an ancient MS.," "a namelesse old MS." No internal evidence enables us to assign it to any particular monastery: perhaps the ballad set upon the gates of Canterbury (see p. 91-94) is most like an indication of the locality of the writer.

The date however of this compilation is determined by an expres-

* Life of Stowe, iv. xiv. ; Strype's Stowe's Survey, vol. i.

sion in the text (see p. 99, l. 30), where the writer alludes to Henry VI. as king, or at least as still alive. This will confine it between the limits, March 4th, 1461, the accession of Edward IV. (see p. 110), and May 22nd, 1471, the death of Henry VI. Henry regained the royal power and assumed the royal style on Oct. 9th, 1470, and at the battle of Barnet, April 14th, 1471, was finally driven from the throne.

Much has been lost from the reign of Richard II. The leaves of the MS. at this part appear to have been designedly cut; but I have been fortunate enough to discover the source from which the compiler borrowed the matter he has introduced into the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV., and have therefore been able to restore in the Appendix the greater part of what has been destroyed. The continuation of the history called *Eulogium*, Cott. MS. Galba, E. vii., is the basis of the new matter in the first two reigns of the English text. From this valuable history our compiler translated very largely; frequently, it will be seen, changing the arrangement of the history, and occasionally making corrections and additions. For instance (pp. 16, 17) he has altered the locality of Richard's resignation, before the duke of Lancaster and archbishop Arundel, from *Conway* to *Flint*; and (p. 23) has added, in common with the Brute Chronicles, the fact of the marriage of lord Grey of Ruthyn with one of the daughters of Owen Glyndwr.

Besides filling up what has been lost from the English text, I have added sections omitted by the compiler of the Chronicle, on account of their interrupting the course of the narrative (see Supplement. Add. xviii. p. 140), with one or two other additions which appeared interesting. I by no means pretend, however, to have exhausted all that is useful from this portion of the valuable

Eulogium. I felt that I ought to place a limit on my extracts, and trust I may not even now be thought to have extended this volume to too great a length. Probably this apology may be more needed for the notes, which seemed to accumulate even while I was endeavouring to repress them, and I feel that they do not possess that air of novelty which I could have wished for them. Indeed this volume is offered to the Society with considerable diffidence, yet with the hope that it may not have been a useless labour.

With regard to the history of the Chronicle called the Brute, I cannot do better than refer the reader to an interesting article by sir Frederick Madden on that compilation, which will be found in Notes and Queries, new series, vol. i. p. 1-4. The copy in question begins with the heading, "*How this land was first called Albion, and of whom it hadde that name, and how the geauntez were ygotte ye shal here as foloweth afterward.*" Capitulum primum. In the yeer fro the begynnyng of the worlde M^r M^r M^r ix. lxxxx. ther was in the noble lond of Grece a worthi kyng and a myzti and a man of gret renoun that was callid Dioclician," &c. It may be useful to note its variation from the common text in the first three reigns here published.

The MSS. used for this purpose are the following Oxford MSS. —Bodleian, Rawl. B. 190, 4to. vellum, imperfect at beginning, which is supplied, as a note in his hand states, by the hand of Thomas Baker,* the non-juror, of St. John's College, from a MS. in the public library at Cambridge. The MS. ends in the usual way with the siege of Rouen, "rewle and governaunce," 6 Hen. V. It has been much used by Hearne, who has supplied many leaves

* I am indebted for this information to the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A. of New College, Oxford.

which had been lost, and we learn from a note at the end of the volume, that his sources were MSS. Ashmole, 791, 793.

Rawl. B. 173, small folio, vellum. Heading illegible. Text begins, "In the noble londe of Surre ther was a noble kynge of myght," &c. This Chronicle goes down to the Armagnac alliance with England, 13 Hen. IV. and resumes after the marriage of Henry V., giving an account of the coronation banquet, rather different from that of Fabyan. After the death of Henry V. follows a list of mayors and sheriffs for a few years in Henry VI.

Rawl. B. 196, folio, paper. Heading, "*Here may a man here how Engelande was first called Albyone, and afterwarde whanne hit had first name*" (sic.) "In the noble lond of Surrye," &c. It ends "rewle and governaunce," 6 Hen. V.

Rawl. B. 216, folio, vellum, in double columns. Imperfect in the beginning: immediately after "rewle and governaunce," 6 Hen. V., follows, "And afir this folowith the appointmentz, tretez, and accordementz of pees perpetuelle bytwene kyng Charles ...and Henry V....and of the marriage of Katerine the doughter of the said kyng Charles, in manner and forme," &c., occupying two leaves and one column. In the same volume, by the same scribe, is "the booke of Johan Maundeville, knyght, (which) techith the weyes to Jerusalem," &c.

Rawl. B. 205, folio, vellum. Heading, "*Here men may hiren how Englonde first was called Albione, and thurgh whome it hadd the name.*" "In the noble lande of Sirrie ther was a noble kyng and myghti, and a man of gret renoun," &c. It ends with the "great parliament," 21 Ric. II. Hearne considered this a good MS.; on the fly-leaf he has written, "See MS. Ashmole 791, but chiefly 793."

Ashmole MS. 793, folio, paper and vellum. "Here begynneth

a booke in Englishe tong, callid Brute of England, or the Cronycles of England, compilyng and tetryng of the seid land." "*How it was firste a wildrenesse, and alle for lette, and no thyng therynne, but wylde bestes and fowles.*" It ends at the siege of Rouen (6 Hen. V.), with the words, "and atte every gate ij. or iij. M^r of goode mennys bodies armed: and manfully countred withe our Englishe men. Heere endethe the Booke of Cronycles."

Ashmole, 791, vellum and paper, imperfect at beginning and end. It ends with the death of James I. of Scotland (1436), with the words "a legate of the poopys beyng that tyme in Scotteland, as it was seyde, bare the kyngys scherte wyth hym, and schewed it to the poope." The reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. are very meagre in this copy. A note on the first page of this Chronicle attributes it to William de Regibus.

The new matter of the present volume will be found to be the following sections:—

P. 1, l. 12, "And they," to p. 3, l. 22, "was gouerned." P. 4, l. 20, "be counsel," to p. 5, l. 20, "hoom agayne." L. 31, "And this parlement," to p. 6, l. 18, "take vp and brent." P. 7, l. 12, "also relece," to l. 25, "to silence." P. 8, l. 10, "The archebisshop," to l. 13, "deliuerid." L. 18, "so evir," to last line, "executid it not." P. 10, l. 3, "I have do," to l. 22, "evirmore." P. 11, l. 11, "Thanne the king," to p. 12, l. 2, "Cauntirbury." L. 12, "Ferthirmore," to last line, "so they dede." P. 13, l. 31, "and therto thay," to p. 14, l. 29, "that saw it." P. 16, l. 1, "and saide," to p. 17, l. 2, "ynoughe." L. 6, "And aftirward," to p. 18, last line, "comyng," &c. P. 19, l. 9, "and was anoynted," to l. 13, "king Richarde." L. 15, "and deliuerid," to l. 19, "parlement." "L. 21, "and made sir Roger," to p. 20, l. 2, "not

void." L. 11, "The kyng also," to l. 26, "Reigate." L. 29, "And on of," to p. 21, l. 2, "money." L. 11, "and meny," to l. 13, "houseȝ." L. 25, "Whanne kyng Richard," to l. 26, "his counsel." P. 22, l. 9, "breek the treweȝ," to l. 20, "be him." L. 22, "broughte," to l. 25, "ayen." P. 23, l. 12, "Also a womman," to l. 16, "the mater." L. 21, "And about this tyme," to p. 29, l. 24, "he was alive." P. 31, l. 11, "And the cause," to p. 34, l. 2, "was cesid." P. 35, l. 1, "And this," to l. 9, "mensoun," &c. P. 36, l. 14, "And this same," to l. 17, "newe thyngis." P. 37, l. 16, "This same yeer," to l. 24, "vnceȝ wiff." L. 27, "And this same yeer," to last line "in no wise."

Thus far our compiler has drawn from the Eulogium: deviations under Henry V. are,—

P. 43, l. 4, "And whilis," to l. 26, "our lady." P. 44, l. 6, "And anon afir," to l. 18, "Vernulle." P. 46, l. 4, "And this same tyme," to l. 5, "manne."

The whole of the reign of Henry VI. is quite different from that in the printed text of Caxton, though agreeing in *matter* as far as page 78, with the exception of the following variations:—P. 54, l. 28, "And this," to last line, "peple." P. 56, l. 25, "And among," to p. 60, l. 25, "not longe afir." The particulars on p. 61. P. 64, l. 1, "And this," to l. 22, "it was said." P. 70, l. 21, "whoos godfadres," to l. 25, "baptized." Last line, "The xxxiiij yere," to p. 77, l. 8, "he dyed." P. 78, l. 7, "One of the causes," to l. 25, "for theyme." From the last line of this page to the end, it is an exception when there is any agreement in *matter* between the two chronicles.

The Eulogium is the larger of two chronicles which fill a folio volume, on vellum, of 206 leaves, which has been partially injured

by the fire of 1731. The shorter chronicle embraces from the Nativity of our Lord to the year 1364, ending with the colophon, "Corpus scribentis benedicat lingua legentis." It commences on the 4th leaf, and is preceded by an alphabetical table of contents or index to the Eulogium. That history begins on the 16th leaf with an interesting introduction, in which the writer apologises for his want of learning,* and pleads that the persuasion of the prior of his house not less prevailed in inducing him to undertake the historian's labour than did his own wishes.† He has divided his work into five books. I. From the Creation of the World to the Ascension of our Lord. II. The preaching of the Apostles, deaths of Martyrs, Assumption of the Virgin, the Roman Popes, &c. III. First habitation of Italy; building of Rome; history of the Emperors, Pagan and Christian. IV. The Geography of the World, showing what parts are habitable and what not, provinces, seas, rivers, &c., especially the geography of Britain. V. A Chronicle from Brute to A.D. 1362,‡ continued to A.D. 1413. The author himself gave his work the title of Eulogium.§

It may be inferred that the writer of our English Chronicle was of the same monastery as the authors of the Eulogium, since at

* *Occupatio infructuosa me multa seire impedit.*

† *Rogatus enim pluries a Priore meo Claustrali quod de gestis antiquorum, de partibus propinquis ac remotis, de mirabilibus, de bellis, de gestis antiquis Christianorum et paganorum, modo chronico, aliquid acitarem, ita ut tetra otia, onaninò infructuosa, levius evacuarem.*

‡ "*Terminatum est hoc opusculum in anno Domini 1362, sub rege Edwardo a Conquestu tertio.*" By a misreading of the figures this Chronicle has been described as ending in 1367 in a MS. note on the fly-leaf, and the mistake has been frequently copied. No change in the hand occurs till 1364, where the writer who finished the volume commences.

§ *Quia ex laboribus antiquorum aliqua paucula medullata extraxi, hoc libellum conglutatum Eulogium volo nominari. Non enim sine causâ Eulogium illud assero, quia studentibus et orantibus maximam præstabit recreationem cum voluerint a labore quiescere.*

the time of the compilation of the English text that history probably had not travelled beyond its convent walls. It never appears to have been multiplied, as only two copies are known to exist, that in the Cottonian collection, and another in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. (R. VII. 2.)

A controversy exists, however, as to the locality of the Eulogium. Leland in his *Collectanea* (vol. i. pt. II. p. 302-314), at the head of several extracts from it, some of which the reader will recognise, has placed the following heading: "Ex altero chronico *Maildolphesbiriensis* monasterii, cui titulus Eulogium historiarum, autore monacho ejusdem loci, sed incerti nominis." Leland conveys a false impression when he adds, "ex prologo apparet scriptum fuisse hoc chronicon, flagitante Priore *Maildolphesbiriensi*." No house is mentioned. He is also wrong in the date, "Terminatum est hoc opusculum, anno Domini 1361;" but has given the right date (1362) in his second volume. Leland, it appears from the heading to his second body of extracts (vol. ii. pt. I. p. 395-398), judged only from certain internal evidence—"quibusdam *conjecturis* ducor." These conjectures were no doubt founded on the fact that there is much relating to the foundation of Malmesbury abbey in the second book, and several notices of that abbey are dispersed throughout the work. Bishop Tanner has followed Leland in opposition to the Cottonian Catalogue. In that catalogue the work is attributed to Ninian, a monk of Canterbury, on the authority of the writer of a long note, opposite the introduction to the Eulogium, who has made this statement from Caius, "*De antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae*," 1568;*

* P. 67: "*Ninianus* quoque in Eulogio Historiarum has easdem urbes recenset; et *Nennius* in catalogo urbium." P. 273: "Eulogii enim libro quinto (quem monachus *Cantuariensis*, non *Maildunensis*, ut Lelandus ait, scripsit), ubi de Arvirago sermo est, sic scribitur, "*Vespasianus mare sulcans*," &c. (Comp. Eul. f. 127.)

adding, as another argument for the locality of Canterbury, that the author calls saint Thomas the archbishop his patron.*

Mr. Macray has suggested that this work may have been confounded with *Nennius's* *Eulogium Britanniae*. This appears to have been the case with the writer of the note alluded to, who refers us in Bale to Nennius, the old British writer, or to Ninian, the apostle to the Picts.† But Caius does not appear to have been so misled, and in his list of writers has astonished the writer of the note by quoting "*Nennii, Elwodugi discipuli, Eulogium*," "*Ninianus*," and "*Eulogium historiarum*," as different works. It does not appear why he has separated the two last.

The Cottonian copy of the *Eulogium* formerly belonged to Dr. Dee, the philosopher of Mortlake, as his note on the first page of the index states: "Jões Dee, 1574; September 25. Of the gift of Mr. Dyckenson at Popular by Mr. John Stow the cronicler . . . (three words illegible) Lōdon." From the Diary of Dr. Dee, and Catalogue of his library, published by the Camden Society in 1842, we find among his books, "*Eulogium temporis a condito orbe in annum Christi 1367,† monachi cujusdam Niniani . . . pergamento, fo.*" Dr. Dee therefore agreed in the opinion of Caius on the authorship of this book.

Such is the controversy. It is much to be regretted that we are not able to assign this English Chronicle either to Canterbury or to Malmesbury with any certainty.

* "*Inter cetera mirabilia, unum licet enarrare de sancto Thomā meo patrono Cantuar. Metropol., accidit enim ipso exulante primo exilii sui anno.*" (Compare also p. 14 of this volume.)

† "*Pro his Nenniis et Ninianis vide Bale, De Scriptoribus Angliæ, centur. 14, fol. 192; centur. 10, fol. 27; centur. 1, fol. 60, et 72, et 14.*"

‡ See note on page xii.

The reader is indebted, with me, to sir Frederic Madden, for the two interesting chapters which are placed at the commencement of the Appendix (p. 111-118). The chapter on the death of the duke of Gloucester appears to be especially valuable. I extract the following remarks from sir Frederick Madden's description of the MS. from which the transcripts are taken:—

The Manuscript is a folio on vellum and paper, in the library of the duke of Bedford at Woburn, and was written in 1448 by Richard Fox, of St. Alban's, as appears by a note on the 5th leaf from the end, and the name in several other places. It begins with a table of contents filling 6 folios, at the end of which are the names of the kings of England from William the Conqueror to Henry VI. in three hexameter lines. Immediately below which the name of the writer occurs.

On folio 7 the Chronicle commences thus : “ *Alfrede was the fyrst kyng that euer was anoynt in this londe.* After Elfrede regned his brother Alfryde, a noble man and wyse,” &c. The manuscript proceeds regularly through the series of kings, compiled from several authorities, until the end of the reign of Edward I. This part is totally different from the Brute, and much fuller, particularly after the Conquest; but from the accession of Edward II. until the close (6 Hen. V.), it is the same as the Brute, yet occasionally has passages not in the common copies; as, for instance, the account of the 18th and 19th years of Richard II. (See Appendix, p. 111-115.) The Chronicle ends like the usual version of the Brute, “ *restede hym in the castelle tyl the towne was sette in rewle and governance.*” (6 Hen. V.)

After this follow the deposition articles of Richard II. and the coronation of Henry IV., chiefly translated from the Rolls of Parlia-

ment, but containing additions of great interest. At the end is written, " And thus enduth the Deposynge of kyng Richarde the secounde afre the Conqueste.

Quod Rychard Fox

Off seynt Albones.

An° Dñi Mⁱ cccc xl. viij°."

Next comes the interesting tract relative to the death of the duke of Gloucester. (See Appendix, p. 116-118.) Then the Acts of the parliament at Winchester (27 Hen. VI.), five lines of verse on the deposing of Richard II., and some orders of the common council of London relative to the fellowship of cooks and butlers, about fees and customs at the lord mayor's feast.

The nature of my obligation to sir Frederick Madden I have already stated, and I desire to offer him my thanks. I am indebted also to John Gough Nichols, Esq. for some kind suggestions while the work was at press, owing to which it is more perfect than it would have been; and to my friend the Rev. William Dunn Macray, M.A. of New College, Oxford, and of the Bodleian Library, for the kind assistance he has often given, and always been ready to give me; and for having compared the pages of the Chronicle as they passed through the press with the manuscript, by which revision some mistakes were avoided.

April, 1856.

A CHRONICLE
OF THE
REIGNS OF RICHARD II., HENRY IV.,
HENRY V., AND HENRY VI.

RICHARD II.

*Of Kyng Richard the secunde aftir the Conquest, the sone of Prince
Edwarde; and of the risyng tyme; and of meny othir notable
thyngis.* Capitulum cxlij.
Folio 145 b.

AFTER King Edward the ij^{de}, that was bore at Wyndesore,
regned Richard the secunde, the sone of prince Edwarde, that
was bore at Burdeux, and crowned at Westmynstre in the xj. yeer
of his age. A. D. 1377.
[Reign began
June 22nd.]

And the ij^{de} yeer of his regne began a debaat betuene the lord
Latymer and ser Raaff fierers knyghte, and Johan Hawle and
Richard Shakele squyers, for the erl of Dene, that was take prisoner
in the bataille of Spayne,* be the said squiers; the whiche prisoner
the lord Latymer and the said ser Raaf wolde haue had. And thay
of Spayne sente to the king for delyneraunce of the said erl; but the Anno ij.

* The battle of Navaretta, fought between Najarra and Navaretta, in which Peter the Cruel, aided by the Black Prince, obtained a victory over his brother Henry and the French, and regained the Crown of Castile, A. D. 1367. The Earl of Denia, in Valencia, was among the prisoners.

A.D. 1378-9.

ij. squiers dredyng* that thay sholde lese the raunsoun of thair prisoner, and wolde not brynge him forth atte kyngis commaundement. Wherefore the kyng was wroth, and saide that thay hadde maad a prison in thair owen house withynne his reme ayens his wille and commaundement: and therfore he sente thaym to the tour of Londoun; and thay brak out therof and fledde to Westmynstre. And the constable of the tour and the said lord Latymer and ser Raaff flerrers wente to Westmynstre, and wolde haue brought thaym agayne, but thay made defens, and Hawle was slayn in the chirche atte gospel of the high masse, and anon the monke; cesid of diuine seruize; and meny sundaie; aftirward, the said persone; were denounced acursid, as brekers and defoulers of thair privilegis; and wolde not halow ne reconsile agayn thair chirche. The king sente meny tyme; be his writtes to the Abbot of Westmynstre, forto appere befor him, and forto cece of his cursyng, and that he sholde halowe agayn his chirche, and serve God therynne aftir the fundacion therof, and alle the mater sholde be broȝt to a good ende. But the abbot wolde not appere, ne cece of the castyng of the censuris of the chirche, for he saide that the chirche of Westmynstre was halowed be saint Petir be myrakille, and therfore it nedid not to be halowed of non othir manne, and shewde and broughte forth the cronicle how saint Petir halowed it, as folowethe

* * * *

A. b.

endowed with meny possessionns and privilegis. And whanne the tyme was come that the chirche sholde be halowed, and alle thyng was redy that was necessary to the solennite therof, Mellit, Bisshop of Londoun, lay in his tentis the nyȝt before the dedicacioun, and there was greet concours and multitude of peple, not onli for deuocion but also forto se the newe and unkid solennite. And the same nyghte, on the ferthir side of the Thamyse, saint Petir, in liknesse and in the habit of a pilgryme apperid to a fissher, and behighte

* See note at the end of the volume.

him for his trauail, to sette him ouer the watir; and whanne he was come ouer, he wente into the chirche, and anon sodenli the chirche was ful of heuenli lighte that made the nyghte as light and as cleer as the day. And with saint Petir

A.D. 1373-9.

Reme, and paide for hir xxij. m^l marc. Ther was offrid vnto him the erlis doujter of fflaundris, with whom he sholde haue had alle fflaundris, but he refusid hir, and aftirward the duke of Burgoyne weddid hir, and be hir he was erl of fflaundris.

Folio 146.

The vij. yeer of king Richard, the ffrengemen and the Scottis were confederid to gedir, and ordeyned iij. grete ostis forto haue come in to Engeland, and the Scottis sholde haue come yn in the north, and the other ij. ostis in the est and west partie. The king heryng this, be averse of his counsel, gadrid an huge ost and wente in to Scotland; but the Scottis durste not fyte with him, his power was so greet: the othir ij. ostis of the Frenshemenne cam not, for thay lay longe tyme in the hauene of Sclys, abidyng wynd and wedir, but the wynde wolde nevir serue thaym but alwey was ayens thayme. Thanne the king brende the toun of Edinburgh, and cam in to Englund ayenne.

Anno vij^o.

And this same tyme, king Richard made the erlle of Oxenforde and ser Michael de la Pole, and othir flaterers, chief of his counsel; and be thaym was gouerned.

The viij. yeer of King Richard, ser Edmund of Langley, erl of Cambrigge, the kingis uncle, wente in to Portugale, with a faire companie of menne of arme; and archiers, to helpe and strengthe the king of Portugale ayens the king of Spayne; and there the king of Portugale hadde the victory, thorough help of Englishmenne; and aftir this journey the erl cam hoom agayne.

Folio 146 b.

This same yeer king Richard held his Cristemasse at Eltham; and thider cam to him the king of Ermonie,* that was drive out of

* Leo, King of Armenia.—See note.

A.D. 1384-5. his lond be the Turkis, to axe of him help and socour: and the kinge yaf him grete yiftis, and so he retourned hoom ayeene.

Anno ix^o. The ix. yeer of king Richard, he held a parlement at Westmynstre, and there he made ij. dukis, a markeys, and v. erlis. Ffirst, he made ser Edmund of Langley, erl of Cambrige, his vncle, duke of York; and his othir vncle, ser Thomas of Wodestoke, that was erl of Bukynghame, he made duke of Gloucestre; and the erlle of Oxenforde he made markeys of Dyuelyn, and commaunded that he sholde be callid duke of Yrlonde; ser Harri of Bolyngbroke, the duke; sone of Lancastre, he made erl of Derby; ser Edward, the dukis sone of York, he made erl of Roteland; ser John Holond, the erlis brothir of Kent, he made erl of Huntyngham; ser Thomas Mowbray, erl of Notyngham, he made erl marchal of Engeland; and ser Michael de la Pole, knyghte, he made erl of Suffolk and Chaunceller of Engelande.

And at this same parlement, the erl of March, in the playn parlement among alle the lordis and comune, was proclaimed heir parent, and next to the croune aftir king Richard: the which erl sone aftir was slayn in Yrlond with the wilde Yrishmenne

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Fragment B.
[Anno xj^o.]

be counsel of a Burgeis of Londoun, cam to Westmynstre, wenyng to haue discomfited thaym with helpe of men of Londoun. The Archebisshop of Canterbury besoughte the king that he wolde admitte thaym to his presence pesibly, withoute eny greuance, for to trete of peece, and the kyng it graunted vnder his feith, and so the archebisshoppe wente and broughte thaym befor the king, sitting in Westmynstre halle, and thair ost abood withoute. Thanne saide the kyng, "Who made you so hardy forto arise and arme you ayens the pees of me, and of my reme?" The duke of Glovcestre

* * * *

A. b.

same place forto refourme peece betuene thaym, and the kyng it

grauntid. But in the morow, he chaunged his purpos, and wente to the tour of Londoun; and the lordis cam with their power in to saint Johannes feld, and sente for the mair of Londoun, and he ladde thaym in to Guyldehalle, and alle the Cite was vnto thaym frendly and wellwillid. Thanne sente the kyng for the lordis to come and speke with him in the tour, and thay saide the place was not sure, but out of the tour thay were redy to speke withe him. Tho comaunded the kyng the mair of Londoun, forto reise and arme the Cite agayns thayme. "Sire," saide the mair, "God it forbede! thay bith your trew lige men, and frendis to the reme." The kyng was wrothe, and sente the duke of Yrlond with his lettris patentiz, and with his baner displaid, in to Chestreshire, forto brynge a power of Chesshiremen and othir. And the v. lordis beforsaide mette with him beside Oxenforde, with the kyngiz baner displaid; and anon as the duke wiste what thay were, he fledde, and rood ouer the Thamysse in to the yle of Shepeye, and fro thence; he wente ouer se in to Almayne, and nevir cam agayne. And the lordis beheddid the chief knyght that was with the duke, and took fro thayme the kynges baner, and folde it gedir, and bettyn the Chesshiremen, and droof thaym hoom agayne, and seue maister Alisaunder Nevile, Archebisshoppe of York, fledde also ouer se, as befor ys saide, and cam neuer agayne.

A.D. 1387-8.

Folio 147.

Thanne thise v. lordis ordeyned a parlement at Westmynstre; and there, ser Robert Tresilian, a justice; Nicholl Brembre, knyghte and citezeyn of Londoun; ser Johan Salisbury, a knyghte of the kynges hous; and ser Simon of Beverley, a worthi knyghte of the garter, for whom the quene knelid befor the v. lordis to haue saued his lif, but she myght not be herd; ser John Beauchampe, knyght, stiward of the kyngis hous; ser Jame Berners, and othir, were iugid to be drawe and hanged: and ser Simon of Beuerley was beheddid atte Tour hill. And this parlement endurid fro Candelmasse to midsomer.

Folio 147 b.

And tho v. lordis were quyt before the justice; of alle thyng that

A.D. 1387-8. was put ayens thaim, and made a lawe and an ordenaunce, that yf the parlement appelid or enpechid eny man of eny cryme, he sholde be dampned withoute ansuer, for with the parlement he myȝte not fȝte ; and made the parlement appele meny men of meny thyngis that thay were not gilty of, and exilid for euermore the forsaid duke of Yrlond, ser Michael de la Pole, and maister Alisaunder Nevile, archbishop of York, and dyvers othir. And thay made alle men of the parlement swere to obserue and kepe alle the ordenaunce; and statutis that were ymaad in the saide parlement ; and made also the kyng swere agayne forto kepe his laweȝ, and that he shold folowe the counsel of his trewe lordeȝ, and not of suche flaterers as were aboute him ; and that he sholde nevir hurte ne enpeche eny of thaim for that thay hadde do in the said parlement ; and of this the kyng, though he baar it hevili, graunted unto thaim a chartre of pardoun.

Fragment C. And this yeer deide maister John Wiclif, and was buried at Lutterworthe, where he was parsoun ; but aftirward, be sentence of the chirche, his bones were take vp and brent.

Anno xij°. The xij. yeer of king Richard, duryng this same parlement, he leet crie and ordeyne general justis at Londoun, in Smythfeld, for alle maner straungers, and othir that thider wolde come : and thay of the kyngis side were alle in on sute, thair cotearmuriȝ, sheldis, hors-trappuris, and alle, was white hertis, with cronneȝ aboute thair neckis, and cheynes of gold hangyng ther upon, and the cronne hangyng lowe befor the hertis bodye, the whiche hert was the kyngis liverey, that he gaf to knyghtis and squiers and othir.

And atte firste comyng to thair justis, xxiiij. ladieȝ, ladde xxiiij. knyȝtis of the gartir, with cheyneȝ of gold, and alle in the same sute her (*sic*) of hertis as before is said, fro the tour of Londoun, on horsbak, thorouȝ the cite of Londoun in to Smythfeld

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C. b. thorough alle Spayne, that the duke hadde sente in to Engeland for
[Anno xiv°.] a grettir ost ; and the kyng of Spayne wenyng it hadde be trewe,

and began to trete with the duke, and so thay were acordid in this manere: that the king of Spayne sholde wedde the eldir doughtir of the duke of Lancastre, that was righte heir to Spayne, and sholde yeue unto the duke an huge summe of money in hand, and euery yeer aftir, duryng the livis of the duke and of the duchesse his wif, x m^l marc. of gold, the whiche gold thay of Spayne, atte thair owen auenture and cost, sholde brynge yeerli vnto Baione, to the duke; assignee; and herof the king of Spayne made to the duke good surete.

A.D. 1390-1.

[Anno xiv^o.]

And the same tyme the duke married anothir of his dougtris to the kyng of Portugale. And in that viage me

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also relece the remenaunt of kyng Johannes raunsoun that was unpaied; and the duke said, forto bere the armes of Ffraunce it was non availle ne profit, and Caleis greued more Engeland and dede more hurt therto than profit, for the grete expensis aboute the keping therof; but the duke of Gloucestre and the erlis of Warwic and of Arundelle gaynsaide it, and wolde not assente therto.

Fragment D.

In this parlement, the duke of Lancastre axed and desirid that his sone shold be the parlement haue be declarid and demyd as next heir to the crowne; but the erl of March withsaide it, and saide, he was come of ser Leonel the secunde sone of king Edward: and the duke saide, that kyng Harri the ij^{de}. hadde ij. sone, Edmund and Edward, the whiche Edmund hadde a crokid bak and was a mys-shape and an vnlik

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thaym to silence.

D. b.

The xv. yeer of king Richard, he held his Cristemasse in the maner of Wodestoke; and there the erle of Penbroke, a yong lord and tendir of age, wolde haue lerned to juste with a knyghte callid ser John Saint Johan, and thay riden togedir in the park of Wodestoke, and there the erl of Penbroke was slayn with that

Anno xv^o.

A.D. 1391-2. othir knyghtis speer, as he cast it from him whanne thay hadde cupid.

Anno xvj°. The xvj. yeer of king Richard, Johān Hende, beyng that tyme mair of Londoun, and John Walworth and Harri Vanner shirevis of Londoun that same year, a bakeris man of Londoun baar a basket ful of horsbred in to fletestrete toward an ostriē hous, and there cam a yoman of the bisshoppis of Salesbury, callid Romayn, and took an horsloof out of the basket; and the baker axed him whi he dede so, and this

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Fragment E.

[Anno xx°.]

The Archebisshop abood there vnto nyghte, wenyng to haue had delyueraunce agayn of his brothir, and whanne he saw it wolde not be, he wente hoom vnto Lambhithe fule of sorow. And on the morow the king deliuerid the said erlle of Arundelle to on that was his enemy, and he put him in prison in the yle of Wyghte, and anon alle the erlis godis were eschetid in to the kyngis hand.

The king also arested the erlle of Warwic in his owen court, and sente him to the tour of Londoun.

And anon aftir the king rood with an huge company in to Essex, to Plasshe, where the duke of Gloucestre lay; and to him he saide, "Thou wilt not come to me, and therfor I come to the, and I areste the." The duke answerde to the king, and saide, "Sire, I truste your grace and that"

Dux Glouce-
trie captus est.

* * * *

E. b.

frensshemenne forto helpe him, and thay cam ridyng thorouȝ the reme with thair speirs bore uprighte. And thanne the king sente to eueri bisshope, abbotis, gentilmen, and marchauntis, and vnder colour of borowyng he hadde of thaym an huge summe of money neuer to be paid agayne; so that a symple gentilman paide xl. li.

Thanne the erl of Rutland, the erl of Huntingdoun, the erl of Salisbury, the erl of Notynghame, and othir, appeld the duke of

Gloucestre, the erl of Arundell, and the erlle of Warwic of treson A.D. 1326-7.
doon ayens the king the x. and xj. yeer of his regne, and the kyng
sente a justice to the said duke of Gloucestre, forto axe and enquire
of him, how he wolde excuse him of such thyngis and appelis as were
put and laid ayens him; and the duke wroot

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In the xxj. yeer of king Richard, he ordeyned and held a parlem- A.D. 1397-5.
ment at Westmynstre, that was callid the grete parlement, and this Cam. clxv.
parlement was maad onli forto sle the erlle of Arundelle and othir, Fragment F.
as thaym likid at that tyme. And for thair jugement, the kyng leet Anno xxj^o.
make a long and large hous of tymber in the paleis at Westmynstre,
that was callid an Hale; couered with tilez, and open on bothe sidez
and atte endis, that alle men myghte se thorough; and the king
commaundid eueri lord, knyghte, and squier, forto bryng with thaym
thair retenue; and come to the parlement as strong as thay myghte.
And the king him self sente in to Chestreshire for a gret multitude
of yomenn and archiers, and thaym he held in his hous, and thaym
most loued and cherissed aboue alle othir, the whiche . . .

* * * *

so evir procurid, and orlabourid (*sic*), to the graunt of eny suche com- F. b.
missioun, he sholde be holde for a traitour. Also he reuoked alle
the statutis that were maad in the parlement holden the x. and xj.
yeer of his regne, and also alle the chartris of pardoun, and nameli
the pardoun that he grauntid frely to the erlle of Arundelle; for, as
he saide, that was grauntid in preiudice of him and of his croune.
Also atte supplicacion of the parlement, he pardoned to the erlle of
Derby and the erlle of Notynghame the ridyng that thay rood with
the duke of Gloucestre ayens the duke of Yrlond; and thay put
thaym in the kingis grace: and also he pardoned thaym that were
put in the commission before rehersed, and executid it not. And

A.D. 1397. on the Monday the xvij. day of September this parlement was
begenne at Westynynstre

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Folio 143. I haue do eny thing amys, I haue therof the kingis pardon." "That pardon," saide the duke, "is reuoked be the parlement, for it was grauntid whanne thou were kyng." The erl saide, "Yf that pardon may not serve, I have anothir pardoun that the king grauntid me frely v. yeer gone of his owen mocion." "And that pardoun," saide the duke, "is also reuoked be ordenaunce of the parlement." "florsoth," saide the erl, "the king may be his prerogatif graunte his chartre of pardoun to whom it likith him, for alle maner of trespas; and yf ye haue ordeyned that he may not or shal not do so, ye haue do more ayens his prerogatif thanne evir dede I; and yf thou, John duke of Lancastre, were wel examned, thou hast do more ayens the kyng than I." Thanne the erlle was counselid to put him in the kyngis grace, and he saide, "I put me in the grace of the high kyng of heuene, and for the lawe; and comune profit of Englund I am redy to dye." And anon the duke yaf on him iugement and saide, "The kyng pardoneth the thy drawyng and haukyng, but thyn hed shalle be smyte of atte tourhille, in the same place where ser Simon of Beuerlev was beheddid, and thi childryn shall be disheritid, and excludid fro the parlement and the kyngis counsel for evirmore."

Judicium comi-
tis Arundellie.

Folio 148 b. Thanne on Saint Matthewe; day, apostel and euangelist, the erl was lad fro the place of his jugement, and his handis bounde behynde him, thorough the cite of Londoun unto the Tourhille, and there his hed was smyte of. And vj. of the lordis that sat on his iugement, riden with him with greete strengthe of men of armes and archiers to se thexecucion done aftir thair jugement, for thay dradde that the erl sholde haue be rescued be thaym of Londoun: and thus deide the gode erl and is buried atte firere Austynes, in Londoun.

And on the morow ser Richard erl of Warwic was broughte in

to the parlement, in to the saide hale, and hadde the same iugement as the erl of Arundel hadde, and, as his counsel bad him, he confessid and saide, that alle that he hadde do, he dede be the counsel and stiring of the duke of Gloucestre and of the erl of Arundelle, trustyng also in the holynes and wisdom of the Abbot of Saint Albone, and of the Recluse of Westmynstre, that saide it was lawfulle that he dede, "notwithstandyng," he saide, "if I haue do amys, I put me in the kyngis grace;" and so be instance of lordis, because he was of gret age his deth was relesid, and was dampned to perpetuel prison in the Yle of Mann. A.D. 1397.

Thanne the king made thaym of the parlement forto acuse maister Thomas Arundelle, archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, because he procurid and labourid forto be in the forsaide commissioun, and it executid and selid whanne he was chauncellere; and the speker of the parlement began to purpose ayens him, and the king bad him holde his pee; and say no more ayens his cosin, and bad the Archebisshoppe go his way safli. And whanne he was go the kyng sente to him a messenger and commaunded him come no more in the parlement, and thanne he was exilid for euer, and that he sholde be privid of alle his godis. Folio 149.

*Nota duplici-
tatem Regis
Ricardi.*

And the Monday next aftir, the lord Cobhame of Kent, and ser Johan Cheyne, knyghtis, were brought in to the parlement in to the same hale, and there thay were iugid to be drawe and hangid, but thoroughe praier and instance of the lordis, thair iugement was foryeue thaym and relesid to perpetuel prisoun.

Thanne said the Archebisshoppe Arundelle, "I wille not go out of this lond, here I was bore, and here I wille die." The king and the duke of Lancastre wente to him, and the king saide unto him in this wise, "Fader, be not sory for to go out of this lond, for I ensure you be my trouthe, that ye shal come agayn withynne short tyme, and ther shal be non othir Archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury while; ye and I live." Thanne the Archebisshoppe took his leve, and on Mighelmasse eve at Douor he wente ouer se to Rome.

A D. 1397-8.

Folio 149 b.

And whanne he was go, the king made ser Rogere Walden, a clerck of his owen, archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury. And he made also at this parlement v. duke3, a markeis, and iiij. erlis. First, he made the erl of Derby, sir Henri of Bolyngbroke, duke of Hereforde; the erlle of Rutland he made duke of Avmarle; the erlle of Kent he made duke of Surreie; the erl of Huntyngdown he made duke of Excestre; the erl of Notyngham he made duke of Norfolk; the erl of Somerset he made markeis of Dorset; the lord Spenser he made erlle of Glovcestre; the lord Nevile of Raby he made erl of Westmerland; ser Thomas Percy he made erlle of Worcestre; and ser William Scroope he made erl of Wilshire and Tresourer of Englund. fterthirmore the kyng made alle the men of this parlement coumpromitte in to xij. diuers persone3, continuynge the said parlement, that where and whanne it likid thayme thay myghte make statutis aftir thair owen ordenaunce; and made alle the lordis swere vpon saint Edwardis shryne, forto kepe with al thair myghte the statutis of the same parlement; and atte request of the parlement, alle the Bisshoppis acursid at Poulis cros alle tho that dede ayens the said statutis and ordenaunces. And whanne this was ydo, the kyng wente in to the west cuntre.

Aftir this, the kyng in solenne daie3 and grete festis, in the whiche he wered his croune and wente in his rial aray, he leet ordeyne and make in his chambir, a trone, wherynne he was wont to sitte fro aftir mete vnto euensong tyme, spekyng to no man, but ouerlokyng alle menn; and yf he loked on eny mann, what astat or degre that evir he were of, he moste knele.

Folio 150.

Nota auariciam
Regis Ricardi.

Aftirward, at Notyngham, the kyng callid his counsel togedir, and saide, that he myghte not ride sureli in his Reme, for drede of men of Londoun, and of xvij. shiris lyying aboute; and therefore he wolde gadre a greet ost forto destroie thaym, lasse than thay wolde fynde him surete. Wherefore thay ordeyned, that Londoun and euerich of the shiris sholde gadre a gret summe of moneye, and in token of pee; yeue it to the kyng; and so thay dede.

And this same yeer fille a greet debaat and dissension, betuene the duke of Hereford and the duke of Norfolk, in this wise. The duke of Norfolk tolde priueli, as it hadde be vnder confessioun, and in gret counsel, to the duke of Hereforde, that the kyng hadde ordeyned to sle thaym bothe, because thay rood and aroos with the duke of Gloucestre. The duke of Hereforde saide, "The king hath therof grauntid vs his pardoun." Thenne saide the duke of Norfolk, "The kyng is not trewe, as it hath wel apperid be the duke of Gloucestre and the erl of Arundel." The duke of Hereforde aftirward tolde this to his fader, the duke of Lancastre, and he tolde it to the king. And whanne the kyng exammed the duke of Norfolk therof, he denyed it and forsook it; and the duke of Hereford avowed it befor him, and him appeld of treson and of the deth of the duke of Gloucestre. Wherefore thay cast thair glovis and wagid bataille, and the day of thair bataille was assigned at Couentre; at whiche day the kyng withe his lordis was there present; and whanne bothe dukis were redy in the place to do thair bataille, the kyng toke thair quarelle in to his handis, and exilid the duke of Hereforde for terme of x. yeer, and the duke of Norfolk for euermore: the whiche duke of Norfolk deide aftirward at Veniȝe. And the kyng grauntid to the duke of Hereforde forto haue and receyue yeerli a certayne pension of money out of Englonȝ; but he forbad him and made him swere, that he sholde not speke with maister Thomas Arundelle; for the king dradde alwey his counsel and his wisdom; wherefore, as yt was said, the kyng so stirid and prouoked ayens him the peple of the cuntre that he sholde passe be, that unnethe he scapid with his lif.

Ferthirmore the king and his counsel ordeyned blanc chartris, and made lordis spirituel and temporel and othir worthi men sette to thaym thair selis; and therto thay were most constreyned be the Bisshoppis, as it was said; wherynne the king purposid aftirward, as men saide, to haue writen thise wordis—"Because that we befor

A.D. 1398.

Anno xxj^o.

Quod vis habere
consilium nemi-
ni dicas.

Folio 150 b.

Nota of the
blanc chartris,
etc.

A.D. 1398.

this tyme haue greuously offendid your mageste, we yeue unto you us and alle our godis, at your wille."

Anno xxij^o.

A.D. 1398-9.

Folio 151.

The xxij. yeer of king Richard, he callid his counsel and saide he wolde go in to Yrlond; but first he desirid to visite Saint Thomas of Cauntirbury, but he trust not welle in men of Londoun and of Kent; and the archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury assurid him that he myghte go saafly, and so he wente to Cauntirbury with a gret mayne of Chesshire menne, and thay wacchid aboute him day and nyghte, and ech of thaym hadde vj d. a-day; and whanne he cam to Cauntirbury, tharchebisshoppe fedde him and his men rialli; and affir broughte him to Londoun agayne.

Nota de aquila
aurea.

Thanne wente the king in to the tour of Londoun, and baar out therof alle the precious iewelx that his predecessours hadde put there to be kept; and among othir thyngis, he foud there an egle of gold, and withynne the egle a violle of stooone closid, with a writyng aboute; the whiche writyng saide that our lady delyuerid that egle and the violle to Saint Thomas of Cauntirbury while; he was exilid, and saide to him that with the oille that was in the violle, the gode kyngis of Englund that sholde come affirward sholde be ennoynted; and on of tho kyngis sholde gete agayn alle the lond that his auncestris hadde lost, withoute strengthe; and he sholde be grettist of alle kyngis, and he sholde bilde meny chirchis in the holi lond, and sholde driue alle the paynemes out of Babiloun, and there he shal make meny chirchis, and as ofte as he berith the said egle on his brest he shal haue the victory of his enemyes, and his kyngdom shall evir encrece; and this oynement shalle be founde in couenable tyme: and this egle baar king Richard alwey aboute his necke.

Folio 151 b.

Thanne made the kyng his testament fulle greuous and preiudicial to the reme, as thay saide that saw it; and made ser Edmund of Langley, duke of York, lieutenaunt of Englund; and thanne wente he forth in to Yrloud.*

[May 31st.]

* He sailed from Milford Haven on the 29th of May, and landed at Waterford on the last of the month.

And whanne he hadde be there a litill tyme, ser Henri of Bolyngbroke, erl of Derby and duke of Hereforde, whom kyng Richard hadde exilid, heryng that his fader ser John of Gaunt, duke of Lancastre, was ded, cam doun out of ffrance vnto Caleys. And there mette with him maister Thomas Arundelle that was archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, and the sone and heir of the erl of Arundelle, that was broke out of prison of the castelle of Reygate; and thay shippid at Caleys, and cam in to Englonde, and landid at Rauenesporne in the north cuntre. And there mette with thaym the erlle of Northumbirlond withe a gret power to helpe and socoure the said duke, that cam for non othir entent, as he saide, thanne forto chalange the duchie of Lancastre his enheritaunce.

A.D. 1399.

Hoc anno obiit
dux Lancas-
triæ.*[Anno xxiiij^o.]

[July 4th.]

The duke of York that was lieutenaunt of Englonde wolde haue gon ayens thayme, but noman wolde folowe him; and ser William Scroope, tresorer of Englonde, offrid men wonder large wage3, but he coude noman haue, for no money.

Thanne wroot the said duke of Hereforde to the citezeyns of Londoun, and callid himself duke of Lancastre and stiward of Englonde, and saide that he wolde refourme and amende that was amys; and anon Londoun him fauerid and supportid, and alle the kyngis castellis were delyuerid to the duke. Ser William Scroope, tresorer of Englonde, Busshe, Bagot, and Grene, knyghtis, that were the kyngis chief counselours, fledde in to the castel of Bristowe, and wolde haue gon in to Yrlond, but thay were take, and thair heddis smyte of: but Bagot ascapid in to Yrlonde and was take aftirwarde.

Folio 152.

Whanne kyng Richarde herde telle alle this, he cam in haste out of Yrlond in to Walis, and abood in the castell of flynt to take counsel what was best to do; but no counsel cam to him, and alle his ost landid in diuers partie3 and wolde not folowe him. Thanne ser Thomas Percy, stiward of the kyngis hous, brak the rod of his office

[August
13th.†]

* February 3rd.

† Richard arrived at Milford Haven on this day. See "*Chronique de la traison et mort de Ric. II.*," edited by Benjamin Williams, F.S.A. (Eng. Hist. Soc.), p. 194.

A.D. 1399.

in the halle befor alle men and saide, "The king wille no lenger holde householde," and anon alle the kyngis mayne forsook him, and lefte him alone. Tho cursid the kyng the vntrouthe of Englonde, and saide, "Allas! what trust is in this fals worlde!"

Folio 152 b.

Thanne wrot the duke to the stiward of the Archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, ser Roger Waldenne, commaundyng him on peyne of his hed to kepe alle the godis of the forsaid ser Roger to the vse of maister Thomas Arundelle, and anon the said Roger remeued alle his iewelx out of the paleis of Cauntirbury, and thay were take at Rouchestre and put in to the castelle there to be kept safly.

[August 19th.*]

Whanne this was ydo, the duke and maister Thomas Arundel wente to the kyng to the castel of Flynt, and aftir a fewe wordis thay tolde him shortly he sholde no lenger regne; and thanne maister Thomas Arundelle saide vnto him in this wise: "Thou art a fair man, but thou art falsest of alle menne. Thou promisist and assurid me, sweryng on Goddis Body, that thou woldest, do my brothir non harm; and whanne I hadde brouȝt him to thi presence, I myȝte nevir se him aftir. Thou also promisest me to calle me agayn in haste fro myn exile, and that ther sholde nevir be othir archebisshoppe of Caunterbury but I, while; I livid; and now thou hast maad anothis archebisshop, and also procurid my dethe. Thou hast not rewlid thi reme and thi peple, but hast spoild thaym be fals raisyngis of taxeȝ and talageȝ not to the profit of the reme, but forto fulfille and satisfie thi cursid couetise and pride. Thou hast alwey be rewlid be fals flaterers, folowyng thair counsel and thaym avaunsyng befor alle othis trew men, refusyng the counsel of thi trew lordis; and because thay wolde haue withstonde thi cursid malice as reson wolde, thou hast thaym slayne unrightfulli, and disheritid thair heiris for evirmore, aftir thyn ordenaunceȝ and statutis; but thay shalle not longe stonde, be Goddis grace. Thou hast also livid incontinentli and lecherousli, and with thi foulle and cursid ensample thou hast

Folio 153.

* See "Chronique de la traison," p. 207.

enfectid thi court and thi reme." Thanne saide the duke, "No more, ye haue said ynoughe." The kyng wist not what he sholde say, but yeld him vnto the duke and saide he wolde resigne and renounce his righte; and thanne he was lad to the tour of Londoun, and there ykept in strong hold. A.D. 1399.
[Sept. 1st.]

And aftirward in the vigili of saint Mighelle, were sent vnto him bishoppis, erlis, barons, knyȝtis, and notarieȝ, forto enquire and wite of him, if he wolde resigne as he hadde promised. First he said Nay, and thanne thay saide unto him that he moste nedis resigne withoute eny condicioun, and delyuerid him a cedula conteynnyng the fourme of his resignacioun; and he redde it in presence of the forsaid duke and of meny othir lordis and a gret multitude of peple; wherof the tenour was this: "I, Richard kyng of Englonde, renounce and resigne alle the right that I haue in the crowne of Englonde with thappurtenaunceȝ; that is to say, in the remeȝ of Englonde and fraunce, Yrlond and Scotland, and in the duchieȝ of Guyenne and of Normandie, and in the counte of Pountif, and in Walis, Caleis, and alle othir castellis and fortaliceȝ, that I haue now or may haue aftirward be righte, beyonde the se and in this side, or in eny parti of thayme, for me and myne heyris for euermore." And witnessȝ there present requirid notaries to make instrumentis vpon that resignacioun. And thanne kyng Richard confessid how he hadde gretly trespass ayens God and the reame, and that he was not worthi forto regne, for he wiste welle, he saide, that he loued nevir the peple, ne the peple him. [Sept. 28th.]

Nota resigna-
cionem Regis
Ricardi.

Folio 153 b.

After this, the duke wente to Westmynstre, and there he was receyued with procession solemnly of bishoppis and monkis, and there was said a solenne masse of the Holi Gost; and aftir masse, he wente in to the halle and the kyngis swerd was bore befor him, and there he sat down in his fader sete, and othir lordis sat there also, and moche peple standyng aboute; and there was red openli the forsaid resignacioun of king Richard, and was acceptid of alle peple. And thanne were there red and declared [Sept. 29th.]

A.D. 1399.

meny notable and grete defautis that king Richard hadde do ayens his oth, and the lawe; of the reme, and how he hadde exilid and slayn his lordis that were pieris of the reme, and meny othirt hyngis: wherfore he was deposid, and, in the name of alle men of Englonde, proctours there assigned yeld up to hym thair homage; ; and maister Thomas Arundelle, be comune assent of alle that were there, dampned the said king Richard to perpetuelle prisoun.

Folio 154.

Thanne aros the said duke of Lancastre and of Hereforde, and blissid him, and redde in a bille how he descendid and cam down lynealli of kyng Harri the sone of king Johan, and was the nexte heir male of his blod, and for that cause he chalanged the croune; and alle the lordis and comune; assentid therto.

Thanne aroo; the Archebishoppis of Cauntirbury and of York and kiste his handis, and ladde him to the kynggis sete that was for him rialli araid; and the Archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, Arundelle, made there a colacion, and his theme was this: "Vir fortis dominabitur populo:" that is to say, A strong man shalle be lord ovir the peple. And aftir the colacioun, the Chaunceller of Englonde theliverid the seel unto the kyng Harri, and othir officers delyuerid vp also vnto him thair selis and office; and the kyng forthwith put thaym yn agayn. And thanne tharchebisshoppe Arundelle notified vnto the peple, that the king wolde be crownd at Westmynstre on saint Edwardis day, commaundyng alle menn to be atte parlement on the Monday next comyng, &c.

HENRY IV.

*Of kyng Harri of Bolyngbroke, duke of Lancastre and of Hereforde
and erl of Derby; that was the iiijth Harri aftir the Conquest.* Ca^m. cxlvj.
Folio 154 b.

Whanne kyng Richard was deposid and putt out of his kyng-
dum, the lordez and the comune; chosen ser Harri of Bolyng-
broke, duke of Lancastre and of Hereforde and erlle of Derby,
sone and heir to Johan of Gaunt duke of Lancastre, to be kyng of
Engelonde; and he was crowned at Westmynstre on saint Edwardes
day, of maister Thomas Arundelle, archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury,
and was anoynted with the oyl of the egle before rehersed: and he
was the firste that was anoynted therwith, as it was said. A.D. 1399.
[Reign began
Sept. 30th.]

Thanne continued he the parlement that king Richarde hadde be-
gonne, and therynne adnullid and hadde for noughte alle the orde-
naunce; and statutis that there were maad be king Richarde; and
restorid the erlis sone of Arundelle to his landis, and made him
erlle off Arundelle; and delyuerid the erlle of Warwic and the lord
Cobham and othir out of prisoun; and brende openli at Londoun
alle the blanc chartris that kyng Richard and his counselle hadde
compellid men to sele; and disgradid alle the dukis that kyng
Richarde hadde maad in his laste parlement, and restored ayenne
maister Thomas Arundelle to his Archebisshopperiche of Cauntir-
bury; and made ser Roger Waldenne, whom kyng Richard hadde
maad Archebisshoppe, bisshop of Londoun, that tyme beyng void;
and made the said ser Roger forto restore alle that he hadde take
of tharchebisshopperiche of Cauntirbury vnto Arundelle: ffor the pope
Boniface dampned and adnullid the iugement that king Richard
Folio 155.

A.D. 1399-
1400.

hadde yeue ayens the said Arundel be a bulle, and declarid be the same that the chirche of Cauntirbury was not void.

This kyng Harri made Harri his eldest sone and heir Prince of Walis, duke of Cornewaille, and erl of Chestre.

Anno primo.

And this same yeer king Harri held his Cristemasse at Wyndesore, and on xijth evyn cam thider vnto him the duke of Aumarle, and tolde him how that he, and the duke of Surrey, the duke of Excestre, the erlle of Salisbury, the erl of Gloucestre, and othir mo of thair assent, were acordid to make a mommyng to the kyng on xijth day at nyghte, and in that mommyng they purposid to sle him. The kyng was also warned therof in anothis maner. The Archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, Arundelle, aftir new yeris day, remeued fro Cauntirbury toward Wyndesore forto haue be with the kyng on xij. day. And in the mene tyme a man of the kyngis hous lay alle nyghte with a comyne wommanne in Londoun, and in the morou she saide to him, "Farwelle frende," saide she, "for I shalle nevir se the more." "Whi so?" saide he. "Forsoth," saide she, "for the erlle of Huntynghdown, the erl of Salesbury, the duke of Surrey, and meny othir, lyen in waite aboute Kyngestoun, forto sle the kyng and the Archebisshoppe as thay come fro Wyndesore, purposing to restore king Richard ayenne to his kyngdoun." "How knowest thou this?" saide he. "Forsoth," saide she, "on of thair men lay with me the lattir nyght, and told me this." And he anon in haste rood to the kyng, and tolde him as the wommanne hadde said; and the kyng warned tharchebisshoppe herof be a messenger, and he retourned ayen in to the castelle of Reigate.

Folio 155 b.

Whanne the kyng was thus warned of this tresoun, he rood in haste the same xij. nyght to Londoun, to gete him strengthe.

And on of tharchebisshoppis men rood bi Kyngestoun, and the erl of Kent lokod out at a wyndow and saw him, and commaundid to brynge him befor him; and axed of him and saide: "Where is thi maister?" and he said, "In the castelle of Reygate." "And where is the kyng?" saide the erlle; and he saide, "At Londoun." "Yf I had met with thi maister," saide the erl, "I wolde hauee shave

his crowne; " and commaundid to spoile the said man of his hors and of his money. A.D. 1400.

But as sone as the said lorde; wiste that thair counselle was discoverid and wraid, thay fledde euery man his way, and the duke of Surrey and the erl of Salisbury with thair mayne fledde vnto the toun of Cirestre, and saide be the way that kyng Richard rood there, and cam late in the euenyng to thair ynne; The comune; of the toun wolde haue arestid thaym, and thay made gret defens, but atte laste thay were discomfitid and take be the said comune; and thay smoot of the lordis heddis; and [they] were set on London brigge, and thair quartris were sent to dyuers tounes; of England: and meny of thair men were there ytake, and put in to prisoun, because some of thayme put brondis of fire in to the rovis of diuers menues; house; wherefor afterward meny of thaym were drawe and hanged. Folio 156.

At Oxenford were take ser John Blount and ser Benet Sely, kny;tis, and Thomas Wyntereshille squyer, and were beheddid and quartrid.

And the same yeer at Pritwelle in Essex, in a mille, ser John Holond duke of Excestre was take be the comune; of the cuntre, and vnto Plasshe where as king Richard arestid ser Thomas of Wodestoke, duke of Gloucestre; and there thay smoot of his hed, and yt was set on London brigge.

The same yeer at Bristowe was take the lord Spenser that was erlle of Gloucestre, and the comune; of the toun smot of his hed in the market place, and it was set on London brigge.

Whanne kyng Richard herde alle this, he was utterli in despeire, and confessid that this was do be his counsel, and for sorow and hunger he deide in the castle of Pountfret.

Rex Ricardus
moritur.

And whanne that king Harri wiste verili that he was ded, he leet close and sere him in lynne clothe alle saue the visage, and that was left openne that men myghte se and knowe his persone from alle othir, and so he was broughte to Londoun to Poulis, and there he had his Dirige and masse; and the same wise at Westmynstre, and thanne he was buried at Langley. Folio 156 b.

A.D. 1400.

And aftirward this same yeer ser Bernard Brokas, ser Johan Shelleye, knyghtis, and ser Johan Maudeleyn, a parson of king Richardis chapelle, were beheddid, and thair heddis set on Londoun brigge: and meny othir were acused of tresoun, and broughte befor the justice3, of whom none ascapid, saue onli ser Roger Waldenne.

And this same yeer, quene Ysabelle the secunde wiff of kyng Richard was put fro her dower and sente in to ffraunce with meny grete yiftis, and anon as she was come in to ffraunce, the Frenshe-menne breek the trewe3 maad betuene king Richard and thaym.

Anno ij^o.

A.D. 1400-1.

The secunde yeer of his regne, he wente in to Scotland, but the Scottis wolde not mete with him; and there the erl of Dunbar becam his manne, and the kyng gaf him the Counte of Richemunde.

Folio 157.

This same yeer was holden a parlement at Westmynstre, and thider cam Oweyn off Glendore, a Walshman, that was sumtyme a squier of the erlis of Arundel; complaynyng how that the lord Gray Ruthynne hadde take from him wrongfulli a part of his land; but he myzte haue no remedy. And the Bisshope of Saint Assaphe of Walis counselid the lordis of the parlement that thay sholde not mystrete the said Oweyne, lest he made the Walshmen arise; and thay ansuerde and saide thay set nouzt be him.

This same yeer cam the emperour of Constantinople in to Englonde, to axe helpe and socour of the kyng ayens the Turkis, and broughte with him a pardon fro the Pope, be the whiche he gadrid moche money, and was longe in this lond on the kyngis cost, and thanne the kyng gaf him iiij *m^l. li.*; and so he wente hoom ayen.

Insurreccio
Wallie.

This same yeer the Walshmenne began to rebelle ayens king Harri, and also a greet debaat began betuene the lord Gray Ruthyn and the forsaid Oweyne of Glendore: and the Walshmen destroide the kinges toune3 and lordshippis in Walis, and robbid and slow the kyngis peple bothe English and Walshe; and this enduris xij. yeer.

And the king wente in to Walis with a gret power, but he myzte not take Oweyn that was chief capteyn of the Walshmenne, ne spede that he cam for; and retourned hoom ayenne. And the lord Gray

undertook forto kepe the cuntre, and sone aftir the said Oweyne took the said lord Gray prisoner; and he was raunsond for prisoners of the Marche. And atte laste Oweyn made the said lord Gray wedde on of his doughttris, and kepte him there with his wiff, and sone aftir he deide.

A.D. 1401.

Folio 157 b.

This same yeer was so gret derthe of corn, and so gret scarcite, that a quarter of whete was sold for xvj. s.

And this same yeer ser Roger of Claryngdoun knyȝt, the Priour of Launde, and viij. frere menours, wherof some were maistris of diuinite, and other to the noubre of xij. personeȝ, were drawe and hanged for treson at Tybourne.

Also a womman acusid a grey frere of Cambrigge, an old man, of certayn wordes that he sholde haue said ayens the kyng, and his iugement was that he sholde fyȝte with the womman, and his on hand bounde belynde him: but the Archebisshop of Cauntirbury was the freris frend and cesid the mater.

The iij. yeer of kyng Harri, anon aftir Cristemasse, was seen and apperid a sterre in the west, whoȝ flameȝ ascendid upward, that was callid "the blasyng sterre," and be clerckis it was callid, "stella comata."

A.D. 1401-2.

Anno iij^o.

Stella comata.

And aboute this tyme the peple of this land began to grucche ayens kyng Harri, and beer him hevy, because he took thair good and paide not therfore; and desirid to haue ayeen king Richarde. Also lettriȝ cam to certayn frendis of kyng Richard, as thay hadde be sent from hymself, and saide that he was alive; wherof moche peple was glad and desirid to haue him kynge ayeen.

Folio 153.

And a frere menour of the couent of Aylesbury cam to the kyng, and acusid a frere of the same hous, a prest, and saide that he was glad of kyng Richarde; lif; and he was brouȝt to the king, and he saide to him:—"Thou hast herd that king Richard is alive, and art glad therof." The frere ansuerde and saide, "I am glad as a man is glad of the lif of his frende, for I am holden to him, and alle my kyn, for he was our furtherar and promoter." The king saide,

A.D. 1402.

"Thou hast noised and told openli that he livithe, and so thou hast excitid and stirid the peple ayens me." The frere saide, "Nay." Than saide the king to him, "Telle me trouthe as it is in thi herte; —yf thou sawest king Richard and me in the feld fighting togedir, with whom woldest thou holde?" "Forsoth," saide the frere, "with him, for I am more beholde to him." Thanne saide the king, "thou woldest that I and alle the lordis of my reme were ded?" The frere saide, "Nay." "What woldest thou do with me," saide the king, "yf thou haddist the victory ouyr me?" The frere saide, "I wolde make you duke of Lancastre." "Thou art not my frend," saide the kyng, "and therfor thou shalt lese thin hed." And thanne he was dampned befor the justice, and drawe and hanged and beheddid.

Folio 158 b.

After this cam anothir frere menour to the kyng, that owde no good wille to a brothir of his, axyng mercy and grace, and saide that v^e men of seculers and religious were acorded to mete togedir vpon the playn of Oxenforde on Midsomer eve, and go fro thennes to seche king Richard, "and Y and x. of my felowe; of the couent of Leycestre araide vs for to go with thaym: and ther is in that couent a maister of diuinite, an old manne, that spekith eville of you, and saith that king Richard shalle fiȝte ayens you, and so it is prophecied, as he saith." The viij freris and the maister of diuinite were brought bounde vnto Londoun, and the othir ij. that were acusid myȝt not be founde.

And the forsaid frere acusid meny othir freris of diuers couentis, but thay fledde away.

The king callid the archebisshop and othir lordis, and the freris were brouȝt befor thaym; and some of thaym were yong, and some olde and sympilly lettrid: and thair acuser stood by and stedfastly acusid thayme, and thay ansuerde vnwarly. Thanne saide the king to the maister, "Thise bith lewde men, and not vnderstandyng; thou sholdist be a wise man, saist thou that king Richard livith?" The maister ansuerde, "I say not that he

livith, but I say yf he live, he is veray king of Engelande." The king saide, "He resigned." The maister ansuerde, "He resigned ayens his wil in prison, the whiche is nought in the lawe." The kyng ansuerde, "He resigned with his good wille." "He wolde not haue resigned," saide the maister, "yf he hadde be at his fredoum; and a resignacion maad in prison is not fre." Thanne saide the kyng, "He was deposid." The maister ansuerde, "Whanne he was kyng he was take be force, and put into prisoun, and spoyled of his reime, and ye haue vsurpid the crowne." The kyng saide, "I haue not vsurpid the crowne, but I was chosen therto be eleccioun." The maister ansuerde, "The eleccion is noughte, livyng the trewe and lawful possessour; and yf he be ded, he is ded be you, and yf he be ded be you, ye haue loste alle the righte and title that ye myzte haue to the crowne." Thanne saide the kyng to him, "Be myn hed thou shalt lese thyne hed." The maister saide to the king, "Ye loued nevyr the chirche, but alwey desclaundrid it er ye were kyng, and now ye shall destroye it." "Thou liest," saide the king: and bad him voide, and he and his felowe; were lad ayen vnto the tour.

A D. 1492.

Folio 159.

Thanne axed the kyng counsel, what he sholde do with thaym; and a knyzt that loued nevyr the chirche saide, "We shal nevyr cece this clamour of kyng Richard til thise freris be destroyd."

The minister of the freris wente to the kyng, and saide that he hadde commaunded alle his bretheryne that thay sholde no thing saw, say ne speke, in preiudice and offens of his persone, and axed grace for thayme. The kyng saide to him, "Thay wille not be chastizid be the, and therfor thay shalle be chastizid be me."

Folio 159 b.

Thanne were thay brouzt to Westmynstre befor the justice; and the justice saide unto thaym, "Ye bith enditid that ye in ipocrisie and flateryng and fals lif, haue prechid fals sermons; wherynne ye saide falsli that king Richard livith, and haue excited the peple to seeche him in Scotland—Also, ye in your ypoecrisie and fals lif, haue herd fals confessions, wherynne ye haue enioyned to the peple in

A.D. 1402.

wey of penaunce, to seche king Richard in Walis—Also, ye with your fals flateriſſe and ypocrisie, haue gadrid a gret summe of money with begging, and sent it to Oweyne of Glendore, a traitour, that he sholde come and destroy England—Also, ye haue sent in to Scotland for v^c. men to be redy upon the playn of Oxenford on midsomer eve to seche kyng Richard. How wille ye excuse you? I counsel you to put you in the kyngis grace.” The freris ansuerde, “We put vs vpon the cuntre.”

And neither men of London ne of Holborne wolde dampne thaym; and thanne thay hadde an enquest of Yseldon, and thay saide “Gilti.”

Thanne the justice yaf iugement and saide, “Ye shul be drawe fro the tour of Londoun vnto Tiburne, and there ye shalle be hanged, and hange an hool day, and aftirward be take down, and your heddis smyte of and set on London brigge.” And so it was don.

Folio 160.

And the maister at Tiburne made a deuout sermon with this theme, “In manus Tuas Domine;” and swoor be his soule that he trespass not ayens king Harri, and forgaf thaym that were cause of his deth.

And another frere whanne he sholde die saide, “Yt was not our entent, as our enemie; say, to sle the king and his sone; but forto make him duke of Lancastre, as he sholde be.”

On the morou aboute evesong tyme, on cam to the wardeyn of the freris, and saide he myȝte fette away the bodie; and burye thaym; and whanne thay came thay founden thaym caste in to dichis and heggis, and the heddis smyten of, and thay baar thaym hoom to thair couent with gret lamentacioun.

And aftirward, men of thenquest that dampned thayme, cam to the freris prayyng thayme of foryiffnesse, and saide, “but yf thay hadde said that the freris were gilti thay sholde haue be slayne.”

And this same yeer, Oweyn of Glendore took ser Edmuid Mortymer in Walis, and because he myȝte not paie his raunson he wolde nevir be vnder kyng Harri, but wedded on of Oweyne; douȝtris.

In the birtle of this Edmund fille meny wonder tokenes; for out

of the floor of his fader stable cam out blood, and wellid vp so hie that it couerid the hors feet; and alle the shethis of swerdis and of the daggaris in the hous were ful of blood, and all the axes with reed of blood; And whanne the said Edmund lay in his cradille he myȝt not slepe, ne cece of cryynge, til he saw a swerd: and whanne he sat in his norsis lappe he wolde not be stille til he hadde sum instrument of warre to pleie with.

A.D. 1402.

Nota mirabilia
portenta.

Folio 160 b.

And this same yeer was the bataille of Shrewesbury on Mari Maudeleyn eve, betuene king Harri and ser Henri Percy, the erlis sone of Northumbirlond: of the whiche bataille the cause and occasion was this.

[Anno iiii^{to}]

A.D. 1403.

[July 21st]

The erl of Northumbirlond praide the kyng to paie him his moncie due vnto him for keping of the marchis of Scotland, and saide, "My sone and I haue spendid our good in keping of the said marchis." The king ansuerde, "I haue no moncie, ne non thou shalt haue." The erle saide, "Whanne ye cam in to this land ye made promys forto be rewlid be our counsel, and ye take yeerli moche good of the reme and paie nouȝt, and so ye wrathe your comenez: good [God?] sende you good counsel."

Nota causam
belli Salopie

Thanne cam the erlis sone ser Harri Percy, that hadde weddid the forsaid Edmund; sustir that was prisoner in Walis, praying the kyng that he wolde suffre that the said Edmund; raunsoun myȝte be paid of his owene. The kyng saide, that with the money of his reme he would not fortifie his enemiez ayens himme. Ser Henri Perci saide, "Shalle a man spende his good, and put him self in perille for you and your reme, and ye wil not helpe him in his nede?" The king was wroth and saide to him, "Thou art a traitour! wilt thou that I sholde socoure myn enemiez, and enemiez of the reme?" Sir Henri Percy saide, "Traitor am I none, but a trew man, and as a trew man I speke." The king drow to him his dagger: and ser Henri Perci saide to the kyng, "Not here, but in the feld." And so he wente his way.

Nota ista verba
inter Regem et
Henr. Percy.

Folio 161.

And he and his vncle ser Thomas Percy, whom king Richard

A.D. 1403.

hadde maad erlle of Worcestre, gadrid a greet ost in the north-cuntre, and saide thay moste fizte ayens the Scottis; and wente in to Chestreshire, and took with thayni meny Chesshire men, and sente to Oweyn of Glendore forto come and help him, but Oweyne was aferd of treson and cam not; but meny of the Walshmen cam to thaym: and so they cam to Lichfeld. And the said ser Henri Percy and alle his men wered and were araid in the livercy of the hertis, the whiche was king Richardis livercy.

And there the said ser Henri leet crie openli, and saide that he was on of the chief causers that king Richard was deposid, and most helper to brynge yn kyng Harri, wenyng that he wolde have amendid the rewle of the reame; and now kyng Harri rewlith and gouerned worse the land than dede king Richard; wherfor, he saide, he wolde amende it yf he myȝte.

Folio 161 b.

The kyng also gadrid anothir ost and mette with him beside Shrowesbury, and axed of him the cause of his comyng; to whom Percy ansuerde and saide:—"We brouȝte the yn ayens king Richard, and now thou rewlist worse than dede he. Thou spoillist yeerly the reme with taxes and talageȝ, thou paest no man, thou holdist no hous, thou art not heir of the reme; and therfore, as I haue hurt the reme be bryngyng yn of the, I wille helpe to refourme it." The king ansuerde and saide, "I take talageȝ for nedis of the reme, and I am chosen kyng be comune assent of the reme, wherfor I counsel the to put the in my grace." Percy ansuerde and saide, "I trust not thi grace." "Now I pray God," saide the kyng, "that thou most ansuer for alle the blood that here shalle be shed this day and not I." And thanne saide the kyng, "Avant baner."

Bellum Salopie.

Thenne was there a strong and an hard bataille, and meny were slayn on bothe sideȝ: and whanne ser Henri Percy saw his men faste slayn he pressid in to the bataille with xxx men, and made a lane in the myddille of the ost til he cam to the kyngis baner, and there he slow the erl of Stafforde and ser Thomas Blount and othir; and atte laste he was beset aboute and slayne, and anon his ost was dis-

parblid and fledde. And ser Henri Percie; hed was smyte of and set vp at York, lest his men wolde haue saide that he hadde be alive. And ser Thomas Percy his vncle was take and beheddid at Shrewesbury, and his hed set on London brigge. A.D. 1403.

And in this bataille the prince, kyng Harrie; sone, was hurt in the face with an arow.

And this bataille was do in the yeer of our Lord Mⁱ. cccc. ij.* Folio 162.

After this bataille was ydo, the knyghtis and squiers of the north cuntre that had be with ser Henri Percy, wente hoom ayen in to Northumbirlond, and kepte thaymsel in strong holdis and castellis and wolde not truste in the kyngis grace.

And aftirward the king sente for the erlle of Northumbirlond that was ser Henri Percie; fader; and he saide yf the kyng wolde swere that he sholde come and go saaf til he hadde excusid him in the Parlement, he wolde gladli come; and so he cam to the parlement, and excusid him that he was not gilty of the bataille of Shrewesbury, and swoor vpon the cros of Cauntirbury befor the parlement, that he sholde evir be trew to king Harri.

To this parlement cam lettris as they hadde be sent from king Richard, semyng so euident and so trewe, that the king and all the parlement were therof astoned, and hadde gret marvaille; and callid him that was his keper, and axid of hym how he wolde ansuer to tho lettris; and he ansuerde and saide he wolde fyte with eny man that wolde say that he was alive.

The iiij yeer of king Harri, cam dame Johane the duchesse of Britayne into England and landed at Falemouth in Cornewail, and was weddid to king Harri in the abbey of saint Swithume; of Wynechestre; and some aftir she was crouned at Westmynstre. Anno iiij^{to}
[February 7th]

And this same yeer, dame Blaunche kyng Harrie; elder dougter was sent vnto Coloyne with the erl of Somerset hir vncle, and maister Richard Clifford thanne bisshop of Londoun, and othir notable [February 26th]
Folio 162 b.

* The battle of Shrewesbury was fought in 1403, on Saturday, St. Mary Magd. eve (Hardyng. Ed. Ellis, p. 361), July 21st. See note.

A.D. 1403.

persone; and thenne she was weddid to the duke; sone of Beyre; and afir the solennite of the mariage our lordis cam in to Englonde agayne.

Anno v^o.

A.D. 1404.

[April.]

The v yeer of king Harri, the lord Thomas, his sone, wente to the se, and the erlle of Kent with him, and thay brende certain toune; in the yle of Cagent, and took ij grete carrake; of Jene ladenne with diuers marchaundise, because thay wold not strike their saile; in the kyngi; name of Engelsonde, and brouȝte thaym in to the Camer beside Wynchilse, and there the godis were canted; and on of the carrake; was sodenli brent; and so the lordis wente no ferthir at that tyme.

Folio 163.

October 20th.*

And this same yeer, Johan Serle, sumtyme yoman of kyng Richarde; robes, that was on of the principalle slears of the duke of Gloucestre, cam out of Scotland in to Englonde, and saide to diuers persone; that king Richard was alive in Scotlande; wherfore he brouȝte moche peple in gret errour and grucchyng ayens king Harri, for the peple wende feithfulli it hadde be so. But atte laste he was take in the north cuntre, and was drawe thorough eueri cite and burgh toun in Englonde, and thanne he was brought to Londoun, and there at Gyldehalle he was iuged to be drawe fro the tour of Londoun thorow; Londoun vnto Tiburne; and there he was hanged and beheddid and quartrid, and his hed set on London brigge, and his quarters were sent to the iiij gode tovne; of Englonde.

Anno vj^o

A.D. 1405.

[January.]

This Serle confessid that whanne king Richard was take in Walis, he staalle his signet and fledde in to Scotland, and therwith he selid meny lettris, and sente thaym to such men as were kyng Richarde; frendis, and saide he was alive; and so he was cause of meny menne; dethe: and he saide also that there was a man in Scotland moche lik to king Richard, but it was not he.

The vj yeer of king Harri, the erl of Marre of Scotland vnder saaf conduct cam in to Englonde, forto chalange ser Edmund the erlle of Kent of certain cours of warre on horsbak, and his chalange

* Fabyan. If this is a correct date, the circumstance belongs to the 6th Henry IV.

was acceptid and grauntid, and the place take in Smythfeld; and there they riden togedir with sharp speris dyuers cours, but the erl of Kent hadde the feld with moche worshippe. A.D. 1405.

And this same year, maister Richard Scroop archebisshoppe of York, and the lord Mowbray that was erl marchalle of Englonde, and a knyght callid ser William Plymptoun, gadrid a strong power in the north contre ayens the king; and the kyng sente thider his power and took thayme, and thay were belheddid at York: and sone aftirward Almyȝty God shewde for the said archebisshoppe meny grete miracleȝ. Insurreccio Ricardi Scroope Archiepiscopi Ebor. [May.] Folio 163 b.

And the cause of the said risyng was this:—The erlis sone of Notyngham and his heir the lord Mowbray compleyned to the archebisshoppe of York, and saide that his auncestris were evir wont of righte to be marchallis of Englonde, and be that thay held thair lond; and notwithstanding that, the king hadde yeue the said lond with the office to the erl of Westmerlond. Tharchebisshoppe comynd of this with wise men of counsel, and aftirward he made a sermon in the chirche of York, and exhortid and stirid the peple to be assistent and helpyng to to the correccioun and amendeiment of the myschiefs and mysgouernaunceȝ of the reme, hauyng in consideracioun the grete pouerte of the marchauntis in whom was wont to be the substaunce of the richeȝ of alle the land: and also the grete reisynges of taxeȝ, tallages and custumeȝ vnder colour of borowyng: and also, that due paiement be maad for the kingeȝ vitailleȝ: and that the clergie and the comune peple were not vexid ne charged with importable chargis of taxis and talagis as thay hadde longe tyme be: and that the heiris of noble men and of lordis of the lond myȝte be restorid to their enheritaunce hoolli, euery man aftir his degre and birthe: and also that suche covetous men as were of the kyngis counsel, that took away and turned to thair owen vse suche godis as were ordeyned to the comune help of the lond, and make thaym self riche withalle, be remeued and put away fro the king. Folio 164.

Thise articles and meney othir the archebisshoppe made be writen

A.D. 1405.

in English, and were set on the yatis of the cite, and sent to curatis of the tovene; aboute, forto be prechid openli.

And the said archebischoppe and the lord Mowbray gadrid a greet ost, and wente toward the erlle of Westmerland; and the erlle cam agayns thaym with anothir ost sent fro the kyng to take thaym; and whanne they were nyghe togedir, the erl praide tharchebischoppe and the lord Mowbray, that thay myzte speke togedir and trete of peece; and thay wente to the erlle, and the erl hadde there botellis with wyne, and made thaym drynke; and while; the said erlle fayned himself to trete, a knyzt of his rood to the archbisshoppis ost, and saide that the lordis were acordid, and in token thereof they drank togedir, "and therefore tharchebischoppe comaundeth every man forto go hoom agayne, for he shall this nyzt sowpe with the erlle."

The archbisshoppis men were aferd, for thier was a litille hill betuene tharchebisshop and thaym, so that thay myzte nowthir se him ne the erl; notheles, thay wende it hadde be trewe that the knyzt saide, and wente tharr way and were disparblid; and the knyzt retourned agayn to his companie: and anon the erl and he, with thair ost, fille vpon tharchebisshoppe and lord Mowbray, and took thaym, and ladde thaym to the kyng to Pountfret.

Aftir this the king cam to York, and the citizeynes of the cite cam out barefoot and ungirt, with haltris aboute thair neckis, and fil down before the kyng axyng mercy and grace, because they aroo; with tharchebisshoppe.

The archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, Arundelle, heryng alle this, cam in haste to the kyng and to him saide, "Sire, I am your gostly fader and the secunde persone of the reme, and ye sholde accept no manne; counsel souner than myn, yf it be good: I counsel you that if tharchebisshoppe of Yorke haue trespass so moche ayens you as it is said, reserue him to the popis iugement, and he will so ordeyne that ye shal be plesid; and if ye wille not so, I counsel let him be reserued to the iugement of the parlement, and kepe your handis vndefoulid from his blood." The king saide, "I may

Archiepiscopus
capitur.

Folio 164 b.

not for rumour of the peple." And tharchebisshoppe requirid a notari to make an instrument of the kyngis ansuer, that yf nede were it myghte be presentid vnto the pope. A.D. 1465.

Thanne were the archebisshoppe of York and the lord Mowbray dampned vnto deth, and ser William Plympton with thaym, and were beheddid withoute the cite of York. [June 8th*]

And whenne the archebisshoppe sholde die, he saide, "Lo! I shalle die for the lawe; and good rewle of Engeland." And thanne he saide vnto thayme that sholde die with him, "Lat vs suffre deth mekely, for we shul this nyghte, be Goddis grace, be in paradis." Thanne saide tharchebisshoppe to him that sholde smyte of his hed, "For His loue that suffrid v woundes for alle mankynde, yeue me v strokis, and I foryeve the my dethe." And so he dede: and thus thay deide. Folio 165

And anon afir, as it was said, the king was smyte withe a lepir: for the whiche archebisshoppe, Almyghti God sone afirwarde wroughte meny grete miracles.

Whanne the Pope herde of the deth of the archebisshoppe of York, he cursid alle tho that slow him, and alle that were assentyng to his dethe or therto yaf counselle, and commaundid tharchebisshoppe of Cauntirbury that he sholde denounce alle thaym acursid: but tharchebisshoppe wolde not do it alone.

Thanne sente the king to the Pope, and saide that the sedicion of the people wolde not suffre him live, and sente also vnto him the habergeon that tharchebisshoppe was armed ynne with thise wordis: "Pater, vide si tunica hec sit filij tui an non." And the pope ansuerde agayn in this wise, as it was said: "Sive hec sit tunica

* This is Walsingham's date—"in crastino Pentecostis"—and probably it is correct. In Rymer, vol. viii. p. 398, is an injunction for seizing into the king's hands the ancient liberties, privileges, and franchises of the city of York, on account of this insurrection, dated Pontefract Castle, June 3rd. This perhaps was issued upon the arrival of the Earl of Westmerland with his prisoners, and the execution need not have taken place till the date given above, even supposing the king had taken the earliest opportunity of going to York.

A.D. 1105. filij mei an non, scio quia fera pessima devoravit filium meum :"—
and so be prive meneȝ of money the mater was cesid.

Anno vij.
A.D. 1406.
Folio 165 b.
[January 24th] The vij yeer of king Harri, dame Luce the dukis sustir of Melane,
cam in to Englonde and was weddid to ser Edmund erl of Kent, in
the priorie of saint Marieȝ in Suthwere.

Ricardus Knol-
lis moritur.
[August.] And this same yeer deide that worthi knyȝt ser Robert Knollis,
and is buried atte White Freris in Fletstrete in Londoun.

Thomas Remp-
ston submergi-
tur.
And this yeer ser Thomas Rempstoun, knyghte, lieutenaunt of the
tour of Londoun, was dround in the Thamise at Londoun brigge as he
cam fro Westmynstre.

[May] And this same yeer, dame Philippe the yonger douȝtir of king
Harri was lad into Denmare be ser Richard the dukes brothir of
York and maister Edmund Courteneye bisshophe of Norwich, and
othir worthi men; and there she was weddid to the king of Den-
mare in a toſne callid Londoun; and aftir that our lordis cam hoom
agayne.

Anno viij.
A.D. 1406.
[November.] The viij yeer of king Harri ther was a manne callid the Walssh
clere, and he appellid a knyghte of treson that was callid ser Perci-
valle Sowdan, and thay faughte togedir in Smythfeld, and the
knyghte ouercam the clerk and made him yelde him gilty: and
thanne he was spoilid of his armure and hanggid at Tiburne.

[Anno ix.]
A. D. 1408. And this same yeer, ser Henri erlle of Northumbirlond, and the
lord Bardolf, that fledde in to Scotland for drede of king Harri,
cam agayn in to Englonde forto have destroid king Harri; and the
Shireve of Yorkshire reysid peple and took thayme and smoot of
thair heddis; and the hed of the erlle and a quarter of the lord were
set on London briggee.

Folio 166.
Anno ix^o. [x.]
A.D. 1108-9. The ix yeer of king Harri, ser Edmund Holond, erl of Kent, was
maad Admiral of the se: and as he laide sege to the castell of
Briac, in Britaigne, he was smyte in to the hed with a quarel, and
so he deide.

And this same yeer, was a gret frost in Englonde that endurid xv
wekeȝ.

And this same yeer, maister Robert Halome bisshop of Salisbury, and othir, were sent to the general counsel to Constaunce.*

A.D. 1409.

Consilium Constanciense [Pisanum] ordinatum est.

The x yeer of king Harry, the erl of Dunbar that was swore English, and whom king Harri hadde maad erl of Richemund, as befor is said, fledde ayen in to Scotland; and saide that he fayned himself an Englishmanne, forto help slee and destroie the erl of Northumbirlond and othir that were enemy; vnto Scotland.

Anno x^o.

A. D. 1409.

And this yeer was seen blood boile out of wellis in diuers parties of England; and anon aftir, meny men deide on the bloody mensoun &c.

Sanguis emanavit de fontibus, etc.

And this same yeer the Seneschalle of Henaude, with othir worthi menne, cam in to Englonde to gete worshippe in dedis of armes; and he chalanged the erl of Somerset, and he delyuerid him manfulli in alle his chalange; and put him to the worse, and hadde the feld in alle poyntis. The secunde day, cam in to the feld a man of the Seneschallis part, and ayens him cam ser Richard of Arundelle, knyght; and the Henauder hadde the bettir of him in on poynt, for he brougte him on his kne. The iij day, cam yn anothir Henauder, and ayens him cam ser Johan Cornewaille, knyghte, and manli quyt him, and hadde the bettir of his aduersarie; in alle poyntes. The iiij day, cam yn anothir Henauder, and ayens him cam ser Johan Cheyne; sone, and cast the Henauder in the feld, hors and manne; wherfore the king made him knyght. The v day, cam yn anothir Henauder, and to him cam John Stiward, squier, and hadde the bettir. The vj day, cam ynne anothir Henauder, and to him cam William Porter, squier, and hadde the bettir in the feld, and the king made him knyghte. The vij day, cam ynne anothir Henauder, and to him came Johan Standishe, squier, and hadde the bettir in the feld, wherfore the king made him knyghte. And that same day cam yn anothir Henauder, and to him cam a squier of Gascoigne, and hadde the bettir, and the king made him knyghte. The viij day, cam in ij men of armes of Henaude, and to thaym cam ij

Folio 166 b.

* To the Council of Pisa, not Constance, held in 1409—see note.

A.D. 1409. souldiers of Calcis that were bretherynne ycallid the Burghes, and quyt thaym wel and manli in the feld, and hadde the bettir, and thus endid the chalange; in Snythfeld, with moche worshippe.

Anno xj^o.
A.D. 1409-10. The xj yeer of kyng Harri, was a bataille do in Snythfeld betuene ij squiers, that on me [men] callid Gloucestre, that was appellaunt, and Artur, that was defendaunt; and they faught manli togedir longe tyme, and for thair manhood the king took thair quarel in to his handis, and made thaym go out of the feld both at onys, and yaf thaym grace.

Folio 167.

Anno xij^o.
A. D. 1410-1.
[December 9th.] The xij yeer of kyng Harri, a squier of Walis called Ris ap Die, that was supporter of Oweyn of Glendore, that dede moche destruc-ioun to the kingis peple in Walis, was take and brought to Londoun, and drawe and hanged and quartrid.

And this same yeer, anon aftir Michelmasse, the Thamise at Londoun flowed and ebbid ij tyme; in a day naturelle; and ther were take therynne meny grete and straunge fisses; of dyuers naturis, that betokened fallyng of newe thyngis.

Anno xiiij.
A. D. 1411-2. And this same yeer, the duke of Orliaunce assemblid vnto him the duke of Barry, the duke of Burbon, the duke of Britaigne, the erl of Armynak, and othir grete men of south Fraunce; and with a gret power pursude the duke of Burgoyne, to be vengid on him [Nov.23,1407.] for his fader dethe whom he slow traitourly in Paris.

And the duke of Burgoyne with assistance and help of the king of Fraunce and of his sone, gadrid a gret ost of Fraunce, of Flaundris, of Almayne, of Scotland, and sente ambassiatouris to the Prince, king Harrie; sone, for help and socour of men of arme; and archiers, ayens the duke off Orliaunce. And the prince sente vnto himme the erlle of Arundelle, ser Gilbert Vmfreville erlle of Kyme, ser Johan Oldecastelle lord Cobhaune, and meny othir; and thay mette with the duke of Orliaunce at Senclowe beside Paris; and there our men him discomfited, and slow meny of his menne, and the duke fledde; and thus our men hadde the victory, and cam hoom agayn with grete yiftis.

Folio 167 b.

[November,
A.D. 1411.]

And anon folowynge, the duke of Orliaunce sente ambassiatours to king Harri, beseching him of helpe and socour ayens his dedly enemy the duke of Burgoyne; and thanne the king made Thomas, his sone, duke of Clarence; and his other sone John, duke of Bedforde; and ser Thomas Beaufort he made erl of Dorset; and the duke of Awnarke he made duke of York; and sente his sone Thomas, and the said erl of Dorset, and ser Johan Cornewaille, and meny othir notable men, in to Fraunce; and they landed at Hoggis in Normandie. And there mette with thayme at thair landyng, the lorde Hambe, with vij M. men of armes, of Frensshemmenne, and all were put to fliȝt, and vij C of thaym were take, and iiij C hors, withoute tho that were slayne in the feld; and so our lordis riden forth to Burdeux thorouȝ Fraunce, for the lordis were accordid er thay cam, and token meny prisoners be the weye; and aftirward thay cam in to Englund agayn with the vyntage.

Sir John Bewford.*

This same yeer, deide ser Johan Beaufort before said erl of Dorset, and capteyn of Caley, and ys buried in the Abbeye of the tour hille.

Folio 168.

And this same yeer, pope Johan the xxij sent a frere menour in to this land, the generalle of the ordre, desiryng of the king, that he sholde sende his sone Thomas vnto Rome, forto be the popis Capteyne and rewler of his ost, ayens the king of Naplis and the Antipope Gregore. And the same tyme the pope dispensid with the said lord Thomas duke of Clarence, forto wedde the countesse of Somerset, his vncler wiff.

Nota hic erat scisma.

The xiiij of his regne he leet make galeyes of warre purposing forto haue gone to Jerusalem, and there have endid his lif.

Anno xiiij.
A.D. 1412-3.

And this same yeer it was acorded betuene the Prince, king Harrieȝ sone, and Harri bisshoppe of Wynchestre, and many othir lordis of this lond, that certayn of thaym sholde speke to the king, and entrete him to resigne the crowne to the said Prince Harri, his sone, because he was so gretli vexid and smyte with the seeknesse of lepre; but he wolde in no wise.

* Marginal note in the hand-writing of Stowe.

A.D. 1413.

Rex Henricus
moritur.[Monday,
March 20th.]

A.D. 1413.

And sone aftir he deide in the Abbeie of Westmynstre in a chambir callid Jerusaleme, aboute the feste of saint Cutbert, whanne he hadde regned xiiij yeer and a half; and is yburied in Crichirche of Cauntirbury.

HENRY V.

*Of Kyng Harri the V, the sone of Kyng Harri the iiij after the
Conquest.*

Ca^m. cxlvij.
Folio 169.

AFTIR the deth of king Harri the iiij^{the}, regned his sone king Harri the V, that was ybore at Monemouth in Walis, and crowned at Westmynstre on Passion Sunday.

A. D. 1413.
[Reign begun
March 21st.]
[April 9th].

And anon, the firste yeer of his regne, for the grete and tendre loue that he hadde to king Richard, he translatid his body fro Langley vnto Westmynstre, and buried him beside quene Anne his firste wiff, as his desire was.

Anno primo.

And this same yeer were ytake certayn Lollardes and hereticks, that hadde purposid thorough their fals tresoun to haue slayn the kyng and the lordis spirituel and temporel, and destroid al the clergie of the reme: but the king, as God wolde, was warned of their fals purpos and ordenaunce, and took the feld that is callid Fikettis feld, and with him maister Thomas Arundel Archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, and leet keep the weie aboute Londoun. And meny of thaym were take, and drawe and hanged and brent on the galowe; in saint Gile; feld. And a knyzt callid ser Roger of Acton was take for Lollardrie and for treson, and drawe and hanged and brent in saint Gile; feld.

Insurreccio Lol-
lardorum.
[January,
A. D. 1414.]

The secunde yeer of regne, he held a parlement at Westmynstre, of alle the lordis of the reme, where it was tretid and spoke of his title that he hadde to Normandie, Gascoigne, and Guyenne, that were his enheritaunce; the whiche the king of Fraunce witheld wrongfulli and vnrightfulli. And so be avise of his counsel, he

[February
10th.]

Anno ij^o.
A. D. 1414.
Folio 169 b.

A.D. 1414.

In isto parlamento, Rex fecit Johannem, fratrem suum, ducem Bedfordie; et Humfridum, alium fratrem suum, ducem Gloucestrie.

sente ambassiatours to the king of Fraunce and his counsel, requiryng thayme to yelde vp vnto him his said enheritaunce, or ellis he wolde it gete be the swerd with helpe of Jhesu. The dolfyn of Fraunce ansuerde to our ambassiatours, and saide that our kyng was ouer yong and to tendre of age to be a good warriour, and not lik to make such a conquest vpon thayme. Oure ambassiatours heryng this scornful ansuer, retourned in to Englonde ayen, notifying vnto the kyng and his counsel the ansuer of the dolfyn and of the counsel of Fraunce.

Anno iij^o.

A. D. 1415.

Thanne made the kyng redy his ordenaunce necessary forto the warre, commaundyng alle menne that sholde go with him to be redy att Suthamptoun, at Lammesse thanne next folowyng, the iij yeer of his regne. At whiche day, whan the king was redy to take his passage, it was there publisshid and openli knowe that iij lordis, that is to say, ser Richard erlle of Cambrigge brothir to the duke of York, the lord Scroope tresorer of Englonde, and ser Thomas Grey, knyghte, hadde receyued an huge summe of money, that is to say, a milion of gold, forto betraie the king and his bretheryn to the Frenshemen; wherfore thair heddis were smyte of, withoute the northgate at Suthamptoun.

Folio 170

[August 14th.]

Whanne this was don, the king sailed forth in to Normandie with xvc shippis, and landid at Kitcaux, in the vigily of Assumpcion of our Lady, and fro thenne; he wente to Harfliu, and it besegid be lond and be watir, and commaundyng him forto delyuer the toun, and he saide he wolde not. Wherfore the king commaundid his gonners to bete down the wallis on euery side, and auon thay of the toun sente out to the king prayyng him of viij daies respit in hope of rescu, and yf non wolde come, thay wolde delyver the toun: and so thay dede. And thanne the kyng made his vncle, the erl of Dorset, capteyn therof, and commaundid him to put out alle the Frensshe peple, man womman and child, and stuffe the toun with English peple.

Whanne this was don, the king wente toward Caleis be longe

forto have come in to Englonde, but the Frensshemenne hadde broke alle the briggis when he sholde passe ouer, wherfore him moste nedis seche his way fer aboue, and so he wente ouer the watir of Swerdis, and cam doun in to Picardie to a place ycallid Agyncourt, where alle the power of Fraunce was redy gadrid to stoppe his way, and yeue him bataile. A.D. 1415.

The king seyng the grete multitude and noubre of peple of his enemies, praide Almyȝti God of helpe and socour, and confortid his peple, and praide euery man forto make him redy to bataille; and with such peple as he hadde, not fulli viij M^l, he enbataillid him, and grauntid to the duke of York the vauntwarde, as his desir was. Folio 170 b.
And thanne the duke commaundid every man to ordeyne him a stake of tre sharpid at bothe endis, that the stake myȝte be pighte in the erthe asloope before thaym, that the Frensshemen sholde not ouerride ham; for that was fulli thair purpoȝ. And alle nyȝt befor the bataille, the Frensshemenne made moche reuelle and moche cryng, and plaide atte dys for oure men, an archer for a blanc, as it was said.

On the morow, whanne alle was redy, the king axed what tyme it was of the day, and thay saide, "Prime." Thanne saide the kyng, "Now is good tyme, for alle Englonde praieth for vs, and therfore beth of good chiere, and lat vs go to our iourney." And anon euery Englishe manne knelid doun, and put a litille porcion of erthe in his mouth. And thanne saide the king with an highe vois, "In the name of Almyȝti God, and of Saint George, Avaunt baner! and Saint George this day thyn helpe!" Thanne the ij batailles mette togedir and fouȝten sore and longe tyme, but Almyȝti God and saint George fouȝten that day for vs, and grauntid our kyng the victory: and this was on the Friday on saint Crispyne and Crispinianeȝ day, in the yeer of our Lord M^l.cccc.xv. in a feld callid Agyncourt in Picardi. [October 25th.]
And there were slayn that day of the Frensshemen in the feld of Agyncourt xj. M^l. and mo: and there were noubbrid of thaym in the feld C.xx.M^l. Folio 171.

A. D. 1415.

Thanne cam tidyngis to our kyng, that there was anothis ost of Frensshemenne ordeyned redy to fyte ayen with him; and anon he commaunded euery man to sle his prisoner, and whanne thay saw that, thay withdrow and wente thair way.

And ther were slayne in the feld on the Frensshe part, the duke of Barri, the duke of Launson, the duke of Brabanne, the erl of Narbonne, the chief constable of Fraunce, viij othis erlis, the archebisshoppe of Saun, C barons and mo, and of othis worthi knyghtis and cote armuris Mⁱ. vC. And of Englishmen were ded that day, the duke of York, the erlle of Suffolk, and of othis not passing xxvj.

And there were take prisoners of the Frensshe part, the duke of Orliance, the duke of Burbonne, the erl of Vandom, the erlle of Ew, the erl of Richemund, ser Bursigaund marchalle of Fraunce, and othis worthi menne.

[November
16th.]

And aftir this, the king cam to Caleis, and so in to Englonde, with alle his prisoners, and was receyued with moche ioie and worshippe.

[Anno iij^{to}.]
A. D. 1416-7.
Sigismundus,
imperator, venit
Angliam.
[April.*]
Folio 171 b.

This same yeer cam Sigismund, the emperour of Almayn, in to Englonde forto speke with king Harri, to trete of certayn thyng; touching the pees of Englonde and of Fraunce: and also for the welfare and vnite of alle holi chirche. And the king and his lordis mette with him at saint Thomas wateryng, withoute Suthwerk, and him receyued withe greet reuerence and worshippe, and brougte him in to Londoun, and fro thence to Westmynstre, and there he was loggid in the paleis atte kyngis cost: and that same tyme the king gaf him the liverye of the garter.†

* After the 8th of the month. See Rymer, vol. ix. pp. 339, 340. Stowe says he landed at Dover, May 1st.

† Walsingham (p. 441) says that Sigismund was installed Knight of the Garter on the Feast of St. George, having told us that he arrived in London on May 7th. This may seem strange, as St. George's day was on April 23rd. Fabyan perhaps explains this apparent contradiction, by saying that the celebration of the feast had been deferred on account of the Emperor.

And sone affir, cam the duke of Holond in to Englonde, to speke with the emperour and with the kyng; * and he was loggid in the bisshoppis yn of Ely, at kyngis cost. A.D. 1416.

And whilis this was in doying in Englonde, the Frenshemenne thoughte to be vengid, and with a greet arme besegid the town of Harflew bothe be watir and be lond; and hadde gotten and heerd grete carrake; of Jene, and othir smale vessellis, to ly and kepe the movthe of the river of Sayne, that no vitaille ne othir helpe sholde come vppe unto the toun; of the whiche arme the erl of Armenak was chiefteyne. [June.]

Thanne the erl of Dorset, capteyn of Harflew, sente messagers to the kyng notyfying vnto him alle this doynge, and what scarcite and penury of vitaille was withyn the town: and anon the king sente his brothir Johan duke of Bedforde † forto breke the sege be watir: and he cam with a notable power and faughte with the for-said grete carrake; and took iiij of thaym, and meny othir Frensshe vessellis. And on of the grettist carrake; of alle scapid and fledde away; but she was so rent and bored in the side; in the said bataille, that sone affir it was dround. And the noble erl of Dorset rescued the said town be londe, and discomftid and slow meny of the Frenshemenne, and hadde of thaym a gracious victory. Nota capcionem carracarum.
Folio 172.

Whanne this was don, the said duke with his prise; and prisoners retourned into Englonde agayne: and forasmoeche as this was don in the Vigilie of Assumpcioun of our Lady, the kyng commaunded that his chapeleyne; sholde say euery day while; he livid, an anteen with the versicle and collect in remembraunce of our lady. [August 14th.]

And whanne the emperour hadde be in this lond as longe as it likid him on the kyngis cost, he took his leve of the king; and the [August.†]

* "Ante festum Ascensionis." (Wals.) Ascension day this year, 1416, was May 28th.

† He sailed after 25th of July. See Rymer, vol. ix. p. 372. His commission is dated, Southampton, July 22nd, 1416. Id. p. 371.

‡ After the 15th of the month; as the final treaty of mutual alliance was signed at Canterbury on that day, 1416. See Rymer, vol. ix. pp. 377-82.

A.D. 1416. king brouȝte him to Caleis, and taried there to haue ansuer fro the Frensshe party, of suche thyngis as the emperour and the king hadde sent to thaym for; and atte laste it cam, and plesid thaym right nouȝt; and thanne the emperour past forth his way, and the king cam in to Englonde agayn.

[October.]

And anon aftir, the king sente ambassiatours to the generalle counselle of Constaunce for the vnion and pees of alle holi chirche, and forto redresse and cece the seisme and strif that was thatt tyme in the chirche of Rome betuene iij popis.

Anglia fit nacio.

Folio 172 b.

And that same tyme, be assent of alle nacions it was ordeyned in this counsel, that Englonde sholde be callid an nacion, and be counted on of the v nacions that owen obedience to the pope of Rome, the whiche befor that tyme was vnder the nacion of Ducheland.

A.D. 1417.

And this same yeer, the erl Douglas of Scotland cam in to Englonde*, and was swore to the king for to be his trew manne; but aftirward he brak his oth, and was slayn of Englishmenne atte bataille of Vernulle.

A.D. 1424.

Ca^m. exlvij.

How kyng Harri wente the secunde tyme in to Normandie, and of the getyng of Cane, and of the sege of Roou.

[Anno v^o.]

A.D. 1417.

THE v yeer of his regne, he made redy his ordenaunce and his retenu forto saille in to Normandie agayne, and commanded alle menne that sholde go with him to be redy at Hamptoun, in the Witsunwike next folowyng. And thanne he made John his brothir, the duke of Bedforde, lieutenaunt of Englonde; and thanne he saillid

† Stowe places this in the 5th Henry V.

in to Normandie with a notable power and gret ordenaunce, and A.D. 1417.
landid at Towk on Lammesse day; and there he made xlvij kny3tis, [August 1st.]
at his landyng.

Thanne cam tidyngis to the king that ther was a gret naucie
vpon the se of enemiez, that is to say, ix grete carrakis, hulke3,
galeie3 and othir shippis forto destroye his naucie: and anon, he sente
the erl of March with a suffisaunt power forto kepe the se, and he
took meny of the said naucie, and put the remenaunt to fli3t; and
some were drownd with tempest. And on of tho carrakis droof
befor Hamptoun, and his mast was throw ouer the toun wallis: and
this was on saint Bartilmewe3 day.

Folio 173.

Tho sente the kyng to the capteyne off Towk commaundyng him
to delyuer the toun, and so he dede. And the kyng made ser [August 9th.]
Johan Kighley capteyne thereof, and commaunded him to put out
alle the Frensshe peple.

And thanne was Louers yoldenne to the erl marchal, and the
kyng made him capteyn therof.

And thanne the kyng held forthe his way vnto Cane, and it [August 18th.]
besegid on euery side, and sente to the capteyn forto delyuer it,
but he wolde not, wherfore thay assauted the toun; and the duke
of Clarence bet down the wallis with gonnes on his side, and first
entrid in to the tounne, and cride, "a Clarence! a Clarence! a saint
George!" and so was the toun gote. And the kyng entrid and [September.*]
commaunded the capteyn of the castelle to delyuer it vnto him;
and he praide him of xiiij daie3 respit in hope of rescu, and yf
non cam, to delyuer him the castel. And vnder this composicion
was the tounne and the castel of Baions with othir tounes, fortaliz,
and village3, to the nombre of xiiij. And atte xiiij daie3 ende cam
no rescu, wherfor the castel of Cane with the othir xiiij tounes
were delyuerid vnto the king; and he made the duke of Clarence
capteyn of the toun of Cane and of Baions and of the othir tounes

* The 4th of September or soon after. The castle of Caen held out till the 20th of
that month. Stowe's Annals.

A.D. 1417.

also: and there the kyng helde saint George; feste, and made xv knyghtis of the Bathe.

Thanne the kyng gat Valeys Newelyn.

Dux Britannie
venit ad Regem.
Folio 173 b.

And this same tyme cam the duke of Britaigne vnto kyng Harri and becam his manne.

And the kyng sente Humfrey his brothir duke of Gloucestre to Chierburghe, and Richard erl of Warwic to Dounfrount; the whiche sone aftirward were yolden vnto thayme.

In the mene tyme, the erlle of Marche, whom the kyng hadde sent to kepe the se, aftir meny storme; and grete tempestis landid at Hoggis in Normandy, and so wente forth vnto the king.

Thanne gat the kyng Argenton, Cessy, Launson, Belham, Vernul in Perche, and alle the toune; and castellis and strengthis vnto Pountlarge, and fro thenne; vnto the cite of Roon.

And this same yeer, ser Johan Oldcastelle knyghte, lord Cobham, was arestid for lollardrie, and put in to the tour of Londoun; and anon aftir he brak out therof, and fledde into Walis and there kepte him longe tyme, and atte laste the lord Powis took him, but he made gret defens and was sore wounded er he myghte be take; and thanne he was brought in a horsliter to Westmynstre, and ther he was iuged to be drawe vnto saint Gilis feld, and there he was hanged and brent on the galowe; for his fals oppinions.

Cobham sus-
pensus est, et
combustus.
[December.]

Anno vj.
A.D. 1418-9.

The vj yeer of king Harri, he sente his vncle ser Thomas Beaufort to the yates of Roon, and there he displaide the kyngis baner, and sente heroudis to the toun and bad thaym yelde it to the kyng of Englund, and thay saide shortli, thay wolde not. And thanne the said Beaufort took good auisement of the ground al aboute, and retourned to the king to Pountlarge: and anone aftir, thay of Roon cast down thair subbarbis that stood about the cite, that the kyng sholde there haue no socour.

Folio 174.

[July 31st.]
Rothomagus
obsessa est.

And the Sunday befor Lammesse day thanne next folowyng, the king with his ost besegid the cite of Roon round aboute; and dede make ouer the watir of Sayne, at Pountlarge, a strong and a mysti

cheyne of yrenne, and put it thorough grete piles of tre faste ypyght A D. 1418.
in the grounde, and that wente ouer the watir of Sayne that no
vessel myzte passe that way; and aboue that cheyne the king leet
make a brigge ouer the river of Sayne that man and hors and alle
othir cariage myzte passe to and fro, whan nede were.

Thanne cam the erl of Warwic fro Dounfrount, and the king
sente him to Caudebeck, and thay of the toun cam out and tretid
with the erl to be vnder composicion and to do as Ron dede; and
it was grauntid on this condicioun, that the kyngis nauie with his
ordenaunce myzte passe vpward saafli without eny let or disturbaunce;
and to this composicion thay sette thair selis. And thanne cam vp C
shippis and caste there thair ancri3, and thanne was Roon besegid
both be watir and be land; and whanne this was ydo, the erl of
Warwic wente ayen to the king to the sege of Roon; and the
duke of Gloucestre cam thider also fro the getyng of Chierburghe.

Thanne cam tidyngis that the king of Fraunce, the dolfyne, the Folio 174 b.
duke of Burgoyne, and al the power off Fraunce wolde come down
forto rescue the cite of Roon, and breke the sege; but they came
not.

And atte firste comyng of the kyng vnto Roon, ther were y
nombred in the cite be heroundis, of men, wommenne, and childryne,
ccc.Mⁱ; and this sege endurid xx wikis; and evir thay of the toune
hopid to haue be rescued, but it wolde not be: and meny hundreddis
deide for hunger, for thay hadde etyn alle thair cattis, hors, houndis,
rattis, myse, and alle that myzte be etynne: and ofte tyme3
the men of arme3 drivenne out the poer peple atte yatis of the cite for
spendyng of vitaille, and anonne our menne drof thaym yn agayne;
and yonge childryne lay ded in the stretis, hangyng on the ded
modris pappis, that pite was to se. And whanne the capteyn of
the toune saw this grete myschief and hunger, he sente to the kyng,
beseeching him of his merci and grace, and brou3te the keyes, and
delyuered him the toune, and alle the soudiers voided the toune with
thair hors and harneys, and the comune3 of the toun abood stille

A.D. 1419. in the toun payyng yeerli to the king for alle maner custume3,
 Rothomagus feferme3, and quatryme3, xx Ml. marc. Whanne the king hadde
 dedita est. entrid the toun, and restid him in the castel til the toun were set
 [January 19th.] in rewle and gouernaunce, thanne Cawdebeek and othir garisons
 there nyghe were yolden vndir the same appoyntement.

Folio 175. Thanne the dolfyne3; ambassiatours, as it was before acordid,
 with ful power to do all thyng as he were there himself, cam to
 [February.] the king to Roon; and aftir meny tretee3; had, thus it was
 appoynted, that at a certayn day set, the dolfyne sholde come to the
 toun of Dreux, and king Harri to Aueraunsshis; and there to
 cheze a mene place, be thair bothe assent, where thay my3te pesibli
 trete of the pee3; to the whiche appoyntement trewli to be kept,
 the king and the said ambassiatours sette thair selis. Atte whiche
 day appoynted the king cam, but the dolfyn cam not; wherfore the
 pee3 was broke at that tyme.

In the mene tyme Johan duke of Burgoyne, that hadde the rewle
 and gouernaunce of the kyng of Fraunce because of his seeknesse,
 be lettri; and ambassiatours sou3te king Harrie3; grace. And the
 king sente ambassiatours ayen to king Charlis of Fraunce and to
 the said duke of Burgoyne to Prounce, of the whiche ambas-
 [March.] siatours Richard erl of Warwic was chief; and in the way as he
 sholde go, lay a greet busschement of Frensshemenne to take him
 and lette his purpoo3; but he slow3; and took the more part of
 thaym, and went forth to Provynce, and purposid his ambassiat and
 message.

[April.] And there it was thus accorded and appoynted, that king Harri
 of Englonde, and Charlis of Fraunce with the quene his wif and the
 duke off Burgoyne, sholde come to a mene place to trete of pees:
 Folio 175 b. and forto do this message the erl of saint Poulle and the sone and
 heir of the duke of Burgoyne cam to our kyng as ambassiatours.

[Anno vij^o.] Thanne kyng Harri knowyng alle the ground of the mater be
 A.D. 1419-20. relacion of ambassiatours of bothe parthie3, appointed with his
 enemie3 in this wyse: that at a certayn day he wolde come to

Maunt, and Charlis of Fraunce and the duke of Burgoyne to Pountoyse, to chese there a mene place forto trete of pees; the whiche mene place for this trete sholde be Melane vp on Sayne; to the whiche place novthir party sholde come with mo thanne M^r. M^r. v. C. men, and in the mene tyme trewe3 sholde be on bothe parties. The whiche mene place was aftirward araid betuene ij village3, and lymytid and markid betuene ij grete diche3, wherynne no man sholde come but only suche as sholde trete of the pee3; and there the kyngis tentis were rially pighte and arerid, and the kyngis tentis of Fraunce also. And king Harri leet arere ij tentis betuene ij diche3, wherynne bothe kyngis my3te trete apart with thair secret counsel, and thastat of bothe kyngis obserued and kept; and a stake was pighte in the middil of a fair playne, to the whiche, and no ferthir, ech kyng sholde come to othir.

A.D. 1419.

[May.]

Atte day appoynted kyng Harri cam to Maunt, and kyng Charlis because of his accustomed seeknesse cam not, but the quene his wiff and the duke of Burgoyne withe othir noble princis of thair alliaunce and withe M^r. M^r. v. C. men cam to Pountoyse, and aftirward to the mene place. Thanne kyng Harri first kiste the quene of Fraunce, and thanne dame Kateryne hir doughtere, for that tyme he saw hir first; and thanne kyng Harri, the quene of Fraunce and hir dou3tir, the duke of Burgoyne, and othir, wente into a tente, to trete of the pee3, where thay were almost iij daie3; but it tok non ende at that tyme.

Folio 176.

[May 29th.]

In the mene while, the dolfyn withe lettri3 and ambassiatours stirid the duke of Burgoyne, that he ne non of his sholde assente to the pee3. And atte v. nonas of August, whanne the said kyngis sholde haue assemblid, the kyng of Fraunce, the quene, the duke of Burgoyne, ne non of thaym cam; wherfore it was openli knowen that the Frensshe parte was cause that the pee3 was not endid at that tyme.

Thanne wente the kyng to Pountoyse, and gat it; and sente his brothir the duke of Clarence with a notable power vnto Paris, and he gat it, and retourned ayen to the kyng; and thanne gat the kyng Bokende Villers.

A.D. 1419-20.

Dux Burgundie
proditorie inter-
ficetur.
[Sept. 10th.]

And while; this was in doying the duke of Burgoyne, that first hadde sought kyng Harrie; grace, wente vnder saaf conduct to the dolfyn to Motreaux; and there be the said dolfyn he was traitorly and vnnanli slayn, and cast in to a pit: and as sone as Philip his sone and his heir wiste of this, he becam kyng Harrie; manne.

Folio 176 b.

The same tyme cam certayne ambassiatours of kyng Charlis, of the duke of Burgoyne and of the cite;eyne; of Paris, to kyng Harri to Maunt, forto trete of pee;,, but because kyng Harri was bisili occupied in his warris and also he supposid that the Frensshemen were not fulli enclyned to the pee; as thanne, this trete took non ende at that tyme, but aftirward at Roon it was fulli endid.

[January.]

And aftirward while; kyng Harri held his Cristemasse in Roon, the ambassiatours of kyng Charlis and of the dukes of Burgoyne cam thider vnto him, to whom king Harri sente agayn Richard erl of Warwie, with othir wise men and a notable power of men of arme;, with fulle power and commaundement to conclude the pee;. And aftir meny wise tretee; on bothe partie; pee; was concludid bi thasfinite and wedlok of king Harri and dame Katherine king Charlis doujtir. But because certayne thyngis were necessary for the whiche the presence of bothe kyngis moste nedis be had, what for setting to of thair selis, what for the mariage sewyng, and alsoo Charlis was so feblid with age and ofte tyme; vexid with his custumable seeknesse; it was betuene thayme thus appoyntid, that king Harri sholde come at a day lymytid vnder trewe; with such puyssaunce as him likid to Nogent vpon Sayne, to parfourme finally al thyng that to the pee; was nedefulle, and yf he cam not alle thyng sholde be had as for noughte. Aftir this appoyntement thus ymaad the erl retourned to the kyng notifying vnto him in writyng alle theeffect of his ambassiat.

[Anno viij^o.]
A.D. 1420-1.
[April]

Folio 177.

The king fro thenne; went to Nogent; and there mette with him the duke of Burgoyne with a gret companie of men of arme;. And aftir meny and dyvers tretee;, the xij kalendis of Juyne, the xl yere of kyng Charlis regne, in the cathedrale chirche of Nogent, kyng Harri

[May 21st.]

withe the duke of Clarence his brothir and othir prince; and noblis, and Ysabelle quene of Fraunce with the duke of Burgoyne, beyng there for kyng Charlis, thanne labouryng in his seeknesse forsaid, and in thair owen name; also, and the iij statis of Fraunce, pee; betuene the ij reines of Englund and of Fraunce was maad, and with certayn condicions approued. And kyng Charlis charged alle his liegemenne on peyne of forfaiture of thair ligeaunce; to kepe the said pee; and therto thay made thair othe, and plight thair trouthe; in the hande; of kyng Harri. And anon quene Ysabelle of Fraunce, and Philippe duke of Burgoyne, in the name of kyng Charlis, swoor vpon the holy gospellis to kepe the said pee; so concludid for thaim and for thair heiris and successours withoute fraude and male engyne for euermore; and this same oth made quene Ysabel, and the duke of Burgoyne, and the iij statis of Fraunce to kyng Harri, to his heiris and successours. And atte ix kalendis of Juyne, befor quene Ysabel and kyng Charlis counsel, befor the parlement and the iij statis of Fraunce, and othir English prince; and lordis, contract of matrimony be present wordis betuene kyng Harri and dame Katherine, kyng Charlis doughtir of Fraunce, was there maad and solemnized. A.D. 1420.

[May 21th.]

Folio 177 b.

And as sone as alle this was enactid in writyng as it was acordid, kyng Harri, kyng Charlis, the ij quenys Ysabelle and Kateryne, and the duke of Burgoyne wente vnto Senlis and gat it; and fro thenne; vnto Melon and besegid it, and that sege endurid fro Juyll vnto Nouembir in moche duresse; and atte laste for defaute of vitail, the toun was yoldenne. Thanne the ij kyngis, the ij quenys, and the duke of Burgoyne with thair ostis wente to Paris, and the cite;eyne; of Paris mette with thaim in ful noble aray.

[December.]

And at January next kyng Harri and dame Kateryne wente in to Englund, and lefte at Paris Thomas duke of Exceestre, gouernour, and Thomas his brothir duke of Clarence, regent of Normandie; the whiche duke of Clarence was slayn there with the Scottis on Estis, evyn, while; the kyng was in Englonde. And on the Sunday the

A.D. 1421.

Anno viij.

[Anno ix^o.]

A.D. 1421.

Folio 178.

[Anno x^o.]

A.D. 1422.

[May.]

Rex Henricus
obit, decus olim,
nunc dolor
orbis!

xiiij* day of Feuerer, the viij yeer of kyng Harri, dame Kateryne was crowned at Westmynstre.

At midsomer next aftir, the kyng lefte the quene in Englonde, and wente ayen in to Fraunce, and took certayn garisons that were yit rebel; and besegid the toun of Meux, atte whiche sege tidyngis cam to the kyng that the quene was delyuerid; and aftir her purificacioun she wente ayen in to Fraunce.

Whanne Meux was yoldenne, kyng Harri wente to Paris, makyng ordenaunce forto besege the tovn of Cone; and thanne a sore and a feruent maladie him assaillid, and fro day to day him greuousli vexid; til he deide in the castelle of Boys Vincent, the laste day of August, whanne he hadde regned ix yeer v monethis, iij wikis, and iij daies, and is buried at Westmynstre: on whoȝ soule Almyghti God haue mercy. Amen.

* So Stowe (Annals). The true date is 3rd Sunday in Lent, eve of St. Matthias' day, Feb. 23rd. See Rymer, vol. x. p. 63.

HENRY VI.

Of kyng Harry the v^{te} aftir the conqueste, sone of kyng Harri the v^{the}, and of the bataille of Vernulle, &c.

Cap^m. cxlix.
Folio 178 b.

AFTIR the noble and victorious prince kyng Harri the V, regned his sone kyng Harri the v^{te}, that was bore at Wyndesore, in the feste of saynt Nicholas the confessour, and began forto regne in the age of ix monethis and xv daies.

A.D. 1422.
[Reign began
September 1st.]
[December
6th. 1421.]

And the iij^{de} yeer of his regne*, was a gret batille don at Vernul in Perch, betuene Johan duke of Bedforde, thanne regent of Fraunce, and the Scottis and the Frenshemenne; in the whiche bataille was take the duke of Alaunsonne, and there were slayne the bastard of Alaunsonne, the erl of Narbonne, and the erl of Marrebonne. And on the Scottis part were slayne the erl Douglas, the erl Boghan, the erlle of Marre, the erl of Murreye, and meny othir to the noumbre of vij M^l. and more. And aftir the said bataille was done, ther were y founde in the diche; of the toun more than iiij M^l. ydround. And thus hadde Englisshemen the victory, thanked be Almyghti God.

Anno iij [ij].
A.D. 1424.

The iiij yeer of his regne, on the morow aftir the feste of Simon and Jude, aroos a gret debaat betuene Humfrey duke of Gloucestre and master Harri Beaufort his vncler bisshope of Wynchestre, being that tyme Chaunceller of Englonde; so that alle the cite of Londoun was mevid ayens the bisshope, and wolde haue destroid him

Anno iiij^{to}.
A.D. 1425-6.
[October 29th.]

* The 2nd of Henry VI. The battle was on August 16th, 1424.

A.D. 1425-6.
Folio 179.

in his yn in Suthwerk ; but the yatis of Londoun brigge were so sureli kept that no man my3te passe out, and the Thamise was also kept that no man my3t passe ouer. And the said bisshoppe hadde a gret company of men of armes and archiers withynne his place, to haue maad defens if nede hadde be. But atte laste be mene of lordis and speciali of the prince of Portyngale, that was the same tyme in Londoun, this trouble was cesid : and aftirward the same yeer atte parlement holden at Leycestre thay were fulli accordid, but yit ther was prive wrath betuene thaym long tyme aftir.

Anno v.
A.D. 1427.
[March.]

The v yeer of this kyng Harri, the forsaid maister Harri Beaufort, bisshoppe of Wynchestre, was maad a Cardinal of Rome be pope Martyn the V, of the title of saint Euseby ; and sente his hat to Caleys, and thider he wente, and there receyued it.

nno viij.
A.D. 1429.
[November
6th.]

The viij yere of his regne, he was crowned at Westmynstre on the Sunday in the feste of saint Leonard.

[April 24th.*]
Anno [i]x.

And sone aftir he wente into Fraunce, and was crowned at Paris the ix day of December, the x yeer † of his regne, thorough special help and supportacioun of the said cardinale there beyng present ; and cam the same yeer in to Englund agayn.

A.D. 1430-1.

And this same yeer, whilis the kyng was in Fraunce, and Humfrey duke of Gloucestre his vncler beyng protectour and gouernour of this lond, aroos a man that named himself Jacke Sharpe, purposyng with his fals feleshippe to haue destroid the chirche and the lordis spirituel and temporel : but he was take and dampned to the doth befor the said duke at Oxenforde, and drawe and hanged and quartrid ; and his hed and his quarters were set vp in dyuers places of Englund.

Folio 179 b.

And this same yeer, on saint Katerine's eve, the lord Fitz Watier wolde haue come fro Normandie in to Englund, and ayens the wille and counsel of the shipmenne wente heddily to ship at Dope ; and whanne he was in the se, ther fil on him a greet tempest, and drounde him with moche othir peple.

* See Rymer, vol. x. p. 458.

† The 9th year of his reign. 1430.

The xj yeer of this kyng Harri, was the grete and general clip of the sunne on saynt Botulfis day; wherof moche peple was sore aferd.

A.D. 1423.
Anno xj^o. fuit
generalis eclip-
sis solis, &c.

And the next yeer aftir, the xij yeer of kyng Harri, was the grete frost that nevyr eny such was seen before; and it endurid fro saint Kateryne; day vnto Sheoftide; and the Thamise and othir grete rivers were so hard frosen that hors and cariage myzte passe ovir.

Anno xij^o.
A.D. 1423-4.

And the nexte yeer aftir began the grete derthe of corn in this land, the whiche endurid ij yeer, so that a busshelle of whete was sold for xl. d., and the poer peple in dyuers parties of the Northcuntre eet breed maad of farn rotes.

Anno xiiij^o.
A.D. 1434-5.
Caristia bladi.

The xiiij yeer of king Harri deide that noble prince Johan duke of Bedforde,* the kyngis vncle, and regent of Fraunce, and is buried at Roon.

Anno xiiij[j].
A.D. 1435-6.

The xiiij yeer of king Harri, Philip duke of Burgoyne, as a fals forsworn man, besegid the toun of Caleys with gret ordenaunce, and an huge noubre of peple, that is to say CL.M^l, as it was said. And forto breke the said sege Humfrey duke of Gloucestre with a gret retenu was sent to Caleys. But befor his goyng the erl of Morteyne and the lord Camoys were sent to Caleys with v C men for to kepe the toun, til more strengthe myzte come. And sone aftir, be counselle and manhood of ser Johan Radclyffe, that tyme lieutenaunt of Caleys, the said sege was broke; for whanne the duke of Burgoyne herde of the comyng of the duke of Gloucestre with so gret a power, he lefte the sege and wente his way, levying behynde him some of his gonne; and bombarde; hid vnder the sande;.

Anno xiiij.
[July.]
Folio 180.

Thanne wente the said duke of Gloucestre vnto Caleys, and fro thennys into Flaundris, destroyng the cuntre and the corn stondyng vpon the grounde, and brende the toun of Poperyng and othir smale village; and thanne cam in to Englonde agayne aboute the feste of saint Bartilmew.

[August.]

And this same yeer withynne a moneth aftir that the said duke of Burgoyne was fled from Caleis, Jame; kyng of Scottis besegid

* The duke of Bedford died September 16th, 1435; consequently in the 14th of Henry VI.

A.D. 1436.

the castel of Rokesburgh in Northumbirlond with CXL.M^l. men as it was said : but thay withynne the castel kept it with iiij^{xx} menne of arme; ayens the king of Scottis, and and all his ost. And whanne the said kyng herde telle that certayn lordis of the Northcuntre wolde come and breke the sege, he fledde in Scotland ayenne.

[August.]

Folio 180 b.

[Anno xv^o.]

A.D. 1437.

Rex Scotorum
interficietur.

And aftirward aboute the moneth of Marche be excitacion and stiryng of the erl of Atholle and othir, the said kyng of Scottis, as he was goyng toward his bed, hauyng no more vn him but onli his shirte, cruelli and vnmanli was slayne ; and as it was said he hadde on him xxx woundis, wherof vij were dedly.

Anno xix

[xviij.*]

A.D. 1440.

The xix yeer of kyng Harri, the Friday before midsummer, a prest callid ser Richard Wyche, that was a vicary in Estsexe, was brend on the Tourhille for heresie, for whoo; deth was gret murmur and troubil among the peple, for some said he was a good man and an holy, and put to deth be malice; and some saiden the contrary; and so dyuers men hadde of him dyuers oppinions. And so fer forth the comune peple was brought in such errour, that meny menne and wommen wente be nyghte to the place where he was brend, and offrid there money and yniage; of wax, and made thair praiers knel-yng as thay wolde haue don to a saynt, and kiste the ground and baar away with thaym the asshis of his body as for relique; ; and this endurid viij daie; , til the mair and aldermenne ordeyned men of arme; forto restreyne and lette the lewd peple fro that fals ydolatrie, and meny were therfore take and lad to prisoun.

Folio 181.

And among othir was take the vicary of Berkyngchirche beside the tour of Londoun, in who; parishe alle this was done, that receyued the offeryng of the symple peple. And for to excite and stire thaym to offre the more feruently, and to fulfille and satisfie his fals couetise, he took asshis and medlid thaym with powder of spice; and strowed thaym in the place where the said heretic was brend ; and so the symple peple was deceyued, wenyng that the swete flauour hadde comme of the asshis of the ded

* Correction by the hand of Stowe.

heretic: for this the said vicari of Berkyngchirche confessid aftirward in prisoun. And the said heretic cesid nevir vnto the laste breth forto blaspheme and desclaundre the iiij ordris of freris, the whiche was no token of perfeccion ne of charite.

And this same yeer in the moneth of Juylle, maister Roger Boltyngbroke that was a gret and a konnyng man in astronome, and maister Thomas Suthwelle a chanon of saint Stevenes chapel wythynne Westmynstre, were take as conspiratours of the kyngis deth; for it was said that the said maister Roger sholde laboure to consume the kyngis persone be wey of nygromancie, and that the said maister Thomas sholde say massis in forboden and inconuenient place, that is to say, in the logghe of Harnesey Park beside London, vpon certayn instrumentis with the whiche the said maister Roger sholde and (*sic*) vse his said craft of nygromancie ayens the feith and good beleue, and was assentyng to the said Roger in alle his workis. And the Sunday the xxv day of the same moneth, the forsaid maister Roger with all his instrumentis of nygromancie—that is to say a chaier ypeynted, wherynne he was wont to sitte whanne he wroughte his craft, and on the iiij corners of the chaier stood iiij swerdis, and vpon euery swerd hanggyng an ymage of copir—and with meny othir instrumentis accordyng to his said craft, stood in a high stage aboue alle menne; heddis in Powlis chirecheyerd before the cros while; the sermon endurid, holdyng a suerd in his right hand and a septe in his left hand, araid in a marvailous aray wherynne he was wont to sitte whanne he wrou3te his nygromancie. And aftir the sermon was don, he abiurid alle maner article; longyng in eny wise to the said craft of nygromancie, or mys sownyng to the Cristen feith.

And the Tywisday next folowyng dame Alienore Cobham, duchesse of Gloucestre, fledde be nyzte in to the sayntewary at Westmynstre; wherfore she was holde suspect of certayn article; of tresoun.

A.D. 1440.

[Anno] xix.
A.D. 1441.
Hoc anno
magister Johannes Kemp,
archiepiscopus
Ebor. factus
fuit cardinalis;
Feb. 1440.†

Folio 131 b.

Hic incipit
processus contra
Alienoram Cobham.

* Correction by Stowe.

† Consequently in the 15th Henry VI.

A.D. 1441.

In the mene tyme, the forsaid maister Roger was examined before the kyngis counsel; where he confessid and saide that he wroughte the said nygromancie atte stiryng of the forsaid dame Alienore, to knowe what sholde falle of hir and to what astat she sholde come. Wherefore she was citid to appere befor certayn bisshoppis of the kyngis; that is to say, befor maister Harri Chicheli, archebisshop of Cauntirbury, maister Harry Beaufort bisshope of Wynchestre and cardinale, maister Johan Kemp archebisshope of York and cardinale, maister William Ayscoughe bisshope of Salisbury, and othir, on the Monday the xxij day off Juylle next folowyng, in saint Stephene; chapelle of Westmynstre, forto ansuere to certayn article; of nygromancie, of wiccheecraft or sorcery, of heresy and of tresoun. Atte whiche day she apperid; and the forsaid Roger was brouȝt forth forto witnesse ayens hir, and saide that she was cause and first stirid himme to laboure in the said nygromancie; and thanne be commaundement of the said bisshoppis she was committid to the warde of sir Johan Stiward knyghte, and of Johan Stanley squier, and othir of the kyngis hous, forto be lad to the castelle of Ledis, there to be safli kept vnto iij wikis aftir Mighelmasse next thanne comyng. But the said dame Alienore was lothe to go out of the sayntwary and fayned her seek, and wolde haue stole away priveli be watir, but she was let of her purpos and lad forth to the castel beforsaid.

[Anno xx^o.]
A.D. 1441.

Anonne aftir, a commission was direct to the erl of Huntynghdown, to the erl of Stafforde, to the erl of Suffolk, and to certayn juges of bothe benchis, to enquire of al maner tresons, sorcery, and alle othir thyngi; that myste in eny wise towche or concerne harmfulli the kyngis persone; befor whom the said maister Roger and maister Thomas as principalle, and the said dame Alienore as accessory, were enditid of treson, yn the Gyldehalle of Londoun.

Folio 182 b.

Nota de sorti-
legã de Eye.

And this same tyme was take a womman callid the wicche of Eye, whooȝ sorcerie and wiccheecraft the said dame Alienore hadde longe tyme vsid; and be suche medicine; and drynkis as the said wicche

made, the said Alienore enforced the forsaid duke of Gloucestre to loue her and to wedde her. Wherfore, and also for cause of relaps, the same wicche was brend in Smythfeld, in the vigily of Saint Simon and Jude. A.D. 1441.

Ferthirmore on the Satirday the xxj day of Octobir, in the chapel beforesaid, befor the bisshoppis of Londoun, maister Robert Gilbert, and of Lincoln maister William Ahewik, and of Norwich maister Thomas Brouns, to whom the said archebisshope of Cauntirbury, maister Henri Chichele, hadde committid his power be his commissioun because of his seeknesse to fynyshe and ende this mater, the said Alienore apperid. And maister Adam Moleyns, thanne clere of the kyngis counsel, redde certayn article; obiectid ayens hir of sorcerie and nygromancie, wherof some she denyed and some she grauntid.

Thanne was this processe proroged vnto the Monday the xxij day of Octobir thanne next folowyng, at whiche day the said Alienore apperid and wnesse; were broughte forth and examned, and she was convict of the said article; Thanne it was axed of hir, yf she wolde eny say ayens the wnesse; and she said Nay, but submitted hir onli to the correccioun of the bisshoppis; and on the Friday next, the said Alienore abiurid before the bisshoppis the article; abouesaid. And thanne she was enioyned ferto appere before the said archebisshope of Cauntirbury or his forsaid commissioners, the Thursday the ix day of Nouembir next folowyng, ferto receyue her penaunce. And in the mene tyme the forsaid maister Thomas Suthwelle deide in the tour of Londoun. Folio 183.

The Thursday abouesaid the said dame Alienore apperid befor tharchebisshope and othir in the forsaid chapelle, and receyued her penaunce vnder this fourme; that she sholde go the same day fro Templebarre with a meke and a demure countenaunce vnto Poulis beryng in her hond a tapir of a pound, and offire it there atte highe auter. And the Wedneseday next she sholde go fro the Swan in Thamyse strete beryng a tapir of the same weichte vnto Crichirche

*Nota peniten-
ciam Alienore
Colham, sibi
iniunctam.*

A.D. 1441.

in London, and there offre it vp. And the Friday next she shold go in lik wise fro Quenehide beryng a tapir of the same weighte vnto saint Mighele; in Cornhulle, and there offre it vp. The whiche penaunce she fulfillid and dede righte mekely, so that the more part of the peple hadde on hir gret compassioun.

Folio 183 b.

And aftir this she was committid ayen to the warde of .ser Thomas Stanley, wherynne she was al her lif aftir, hauyng yeerli C marc., assigned to hir for hir fyndyng and costis; whoo; pride, fals couetise and lecherie were cause of her confusioun. Othir thyngis myghte be writen of this dame Alienore, the whiche atte reuerence of nature and of wommanhood shul not be reherced.

And the Satirday the xvij day of Nouembir next sewyng, maister Roger Boltyngbroke at Gyldehalle at London befor the said lordis and justice; was arreymed of the forsaid article; of tresoun ayens the kyngis persone, and therof be xij men of London he was founde gilty. Wherefore be the iugement of .ser Johan Hody that tyme chief justice of the kyngis bench, he was drawe fro the tour of London vnto Tyburne; and there he was hanged and leet down half alive, and his bowellis take out and brent, and his hed smyte of and set on London brigge, and his body quartrid and sent to certayn townes of Englonde, that is to saye, Oxenford, Cambrigge, York and Hereforde. And whanne the said maister Roger sholde die, he confessid that he was nevir gilty of eny treson ayens the kyngis persone; but he presumed to fer in his konnyng, as he sayde, wherof he eride God mercy; and the justice that yaf on him iugement livid not longe aftir.

Anno xxj.
A.D. 1443.

The xxj yeer of king Harri, saint Georges feste was holde at Westmynstre, and there .ser Johan Beaufort erl of Somerset was maad duke of Somerset.

Anno xxij.
A.D. 1444.

The xxij yeer of kynge Harri, Johan erlle of Huntynghdown at Wyndesore was made duke of Excestre.

And this same yeer deide the forsaid Johan Beaufort duke of Somerset, the vj kalendes of May, at Wymborne mynstre in the counte of Dorset, and there he is buried.

The xxij [xxij] yere of kyng Harri, aboute the begynnyng of Lente, were sente ambassiatours in to Fraunce; that is to say, the erl of Suffolk, maister Adam Moleyns dean of Salisbury and keper of the kyngis pryve seal, and ser Robert Roos, and other, to trete of the mariage betuene kyng Harri and dame Margarete the kyngis douȝtir of Cecile. And the Sunday next befor Witsuntide the xxiiij day of May, in saint Martyne's chirche in the toun of Touris in Tureyne, assuraunce of mariage was maad betuene the said erlle, as in name of the kyngis persone, and the said dame Margarete, before the popis legat Petrus de Monte, that tyme beyng there. And thanne were grauntid trewe; and abstinence of warre betuene Englund and Fraunce for terme of xvij monethe;—but what treson grew vnder tho trewe; it was sone know aftirward be alienacion of Auges and Mayne, and wilful lesyng of al Normandy; and aftir this, our ambassiatours cam hoom agayne.

The xxiiij [xxij] yeer of kyng Harri in the moneth of Nouembir, the said erl of Suffolk with othir wente ayenne in to Fraunce, forto brynge and condue the said dame Margarete into Englonde: the whiche erl was made befor his goyng markeys of Suffolk; and sone aftir he was maad duke.

And this same yeer, at Witsuntid, Humfrey erl of Stafford was maad duke of Bukynghame.

And this same yeer, on the Thursday the xxv. day of Feuerer was a parlement begonne att Westmynstre, in the whiche Gye [Henry]* the yong erl of Warwic was maad duke of Warwic; and the lord Beaumond was maad vicount Beaumond.

And duryng this parlement, the forsaid dame Margarete landid at Porchestre and wente fro thenne; to Hamptoun be water, and restid her there in the Goddeshous; and thanne she wente in to the abbey of Tychfeld, and there she was weddid to king Harri on the Thursday the xxij. day of Aprille, and maister William Ascoghe,

* This is Stowe's correction, the word "Gye" is struck out from the text and "Henry" written in the margin.

A.D. 1444.
Anno xxij. [ij.]
Folio 184.

[Anno xxij^o]
A.D. 1444.

Folio 184 b.
A.D. 1445.

A.D. 1445. bisshophe of Salisbury, dede the solennite of the marriage and weddid thaym, and on the Sunday the xxx. day of May next folowyng she was crowned at Westmynstre.

This same yeer in the moneth of Juylle deide the forsaid Gye [Henry]* duke of Warwic withoute heir male; and so in him cessid and failid the noble lyne of the erlis of Warwic, as to heir male, and remayned in his douȝtir.

[Anno xxv^o.]

A.D. 1446.

The xxv. yeer of kyng Harri, yn the monethis of Nouembir and Decembir fille grete thundryng and lightnyng, with huge and grete wyndis.

A.D. 1447.

Nota de parlamento de Bury.

Folio 185.

And in the moneth of Feuerer next aftir, the x. day thereof, begau the parlement at saint Edmundis Bury in Suffolk; the whiche parlement was maad only for to sle the noble duke of Gloucestre, whoȝ deth the fals duke of Suffolk William de la Pole, and ser Jameȝ Fyneȝ lord Say, and othir of thair assent, hadde longe tyme conspired and ymagyned. And they seyng that thay myȝt not sle him be no trewe meneȝ of iustize ne of lawe, and enfourmed falsli the king, and sayde that he wolde reise the Walshmenne forto distresse him and destroye him; and ordeyned that euery lord sholde come to the said parlement in thair best aray and withe strengthe. And alle the weyeȝ aboute the said toun off Bury, be commaundement of the said duke of Suffolk, were kept with gret multitude of peple of the cuntre, wakyng day and nyghte; vnknowyng the said peple wherfore it was: and the wedir was so cold that some of the poer peple that there wakid, deide for cold.

And ayens the ende of the parlement, the said duke of Gloucestre was sent for, for to come and ansuer to suche poynteȝ of tresoun as sholde be laid ayens him; and er he cam fully into the toun of Bury, ther were sent vnto him messagers commaundyng him on the kyngis behalfs, that he sholde go streighte to his yn, and come not nyghe the kyng til he hadde othirwise in commaundement. And the secunde day aftir, whileȝ he sat at mete in his yn, cam a sergeaunt

* Stowe's correction.

of armeȝ and arestid certayn knyȝtis and squyers and othir special A.D. 1447.
seruauntis of his, and ladde thaym to dyuers prisons.

And the iij. day aftir, the lord Beaumont with othir, that is to say, the duke of Bukynghame, the duke of Somerset, and othir, cam to the said duke of Gloucestre and arestid him: and thanne were certayn of the kyngis hous commaunded to waite on him. And the iij. day aftir, he deide for sorow, as some men saide, because he [Feb. 28th.] myghte not come to his ansuer and excuse him of suche thyngis as were falsli put on him; for the said duke of Suffolk and lord Say, Folio 185 b. and othir of thair assent, so stirid and excitid the kyng ayens the said duke of Gloucestre that he myghte nevir come to his excuse; for thay hadde cast among thaym a prive conclusioun, the whiche as yit is not come to the knowlage of the commune peple, and thay wiste welles that thay sholde nevir brynge it aboute til he were ded; but the certaynte of his deth is not yit openly knowe, but ther is no thyng so prive, as the gospell saith, but atte laste it shal be openne.

And this same yeer, on the Tiwisday in the Estirwike deide [April 11th.] maister Harri Beaufort, bisshoppe of Wynchestre and prest cardinale of Rome.

And this yeer in the moneth of August, deide ser Johan Holond, duke of Excestre and erlle of Huntyngdown.

The xxvj. yeer of king Harri was lepe yeer, and our ladies evyn Anno xxvj.
in Lente fille on Estirday. A.D. 1448.

The xxviiij. yeer of king Harri, on Simon day and Jude, and other daies before and aftir, the sonne in his risyng and goyng doune apperid as reed as blood, as meny a man saw; wherof the peple hadde gret marvaille, and demed that it sholde betokened sum harm sone aftirward. Anno xxviiij.
A.D. 1449.

And this same yeer, in the feste of saint Mighelle in Monte Tumba, [October 16th.] Rouen was lost and yolden to the Frensshemenne;* beyng therynne that tyme the duke of Somerset and the erl of Shrowesbury.

And the next yeer aftir, alle Normandy was lost.

* Rouen was evacuated, according to treaty, November 4, 1449 (Monstrelet).

A.D. 1450.
Folio 186.

And this yeer, the Friday the ix. day of Januarye, maister Adam Moleyns, bisshoppe of Chichestre and keper of the kyngis prive seel, whom the kyng sente to Portesmouth, forto make paiement of money to certayne soudiers and shipmenne for thair wage; and so it happid (*sic*) that with boiste; langage, and also for abriggyng of thair wage; he fil in variaunce with thaym, and thay fil on him, and cruelli there kilde him.

Episcopus
Cicestre inter-
ficitur.

[June 29th.]

And this same yer, in the feste of Saint Petir and Paule aftir Midsomer, that is to say, the Monday, the laste day of Juyn saue one, maister William Ascoghe bisshop of Salisbury was slayn of his owen parissheis and peple at Edyngdoun aftir that he hadde said masse, and was drawe fro the auter and lad vp to an hille ther beside, in his awbe, and his stole aboute his necke; and there thay slow him horribly, thair fader and thair bisshoppe, and spoillid him vnto the nakid skyn, and rente his blody shirte in to pecis and baar thaym away with thaym, and made bost of thair wickidnesse: and the day befor his deth his chariot was robbed be men of the same cuntre of an huge god and tresour, to the value of x. M^l. marc., as thay saide that knewe it. Thise ij. bisshoppis were wonder couetous men, and evil beloued among the comune peple, and holde suspect of meny defautes, and were assentyng and willyng to the deth of the duke of Gloucestre, as it was said.

Episcopus
Sarum occi-
ditur.

Nota de
Johanne Cade,
capitaneo
Kancie.
Folio 186 b.
[May 30th.*]

And this same yeer, in the moneth of May, aroos thay of Kent and made thaym a capteyne, a ribaude, an Yrisshe man, callid Johan Cade; the whiche atte begynning took on him the name of a gentilmanne, and callid himself Mortymer forto haue the more fauour of the peple; and he callid himself also John Amende-alle; for forasmuche as thanne and longe before the reme of Englund hadde be rewlid be untrew counselle, wherfore the comune profit was sore hurt and decresid; so that alle the commune peple, what for

* "Septimâ in Pentecoste." W. Worcester, Pentecost this year being May 24th. See our chronicle below, who fixes the date of Cade's great popularity from the day following.

taxe; and tallage; and other oppressions myght not live be thair handwork and husbondrie, wherfore thay grucchid sore ayens thaym that hadde the gouernaunce of the land. A.D. 1450.

Thanne cam the said capteyn and the Kentisshmen vnto the Blakeheth, and there kepte the feld a moneth and more, pilyng alle the cuntre aboute; to whom the cite of Londoun, at that tyme, was fulle fauorable and frendly; but it last not longe aftir. In the mene tyme the king sente notable menne to the said capteyn and his feleshippe, to knowe thair purpose and the cause of thair insurreccioun. [June.] The capteyn was a sotill man, and saide that he and his feleship were assemblid and gadrid there, forto redresse and refourme the wrongis that were don in the reime, and to withstonde the malice of thayme that were destroyers of the comune profit; and forto correcte and amende the defaultis of thaym that were the kyngis chief counselours; and shewde vnto thaym the articles of his petitions concernyng and touchyng the myschiefs and mysgouernaunce; of the reime, wherynne was nothyng conteyned but that that was rightful and resonable, wherof a copie was sent to the parlement holden that tyme at Westmynstre; wherfore the said capteyne desirid that suche grevaunce; sholde be amendid and reformed be the parlement, and to haue ansuer therof agayne, but he hadde none. Folio 187.

Sone aftir the kyng remeued fro Westmynstre vnto Grenewich; and while he was there he wolde haue sent certayn lordis with a power forto haue distressid the Kentisshmenne, but thair men that sholde haue gon with thaym ansuerde to thair lordis and saide, that thay wolde not fyte ayens thaym that labourid forto amende and refourme the comune profit; and whanne the lordis herde this, thay lefte thair purpo;.

Thanne cride the Kentisshmenne and othir ayens the lord Say, the kyngis chamberlayne, that was on of the kyngis fals counselours and holden suspect of tresoun, and the king dredyng the malice of the peple, committid him to the tour of Londoun.

A.D. 1450.

Thanne wente the kyng ayen to Londoun, and withynne ij. daies aftir he wente ayens the Kentisshmenne with xv M^l. men wel araid vnto the Blakehefth, but the said Kentisshmen heryng how the king wolde come, and fledde the nyzt befor his comyns, in to the wode cuntre to Seuenok.

Folio 187 b.

The kyng thanne retourned to Londoun, and sente out a squier callid William Stafford, and ser Humfrey Stafford, knyzt, his cosyne, forto aspie where the Kentisshmen were; and whanne they knew that thay were at Seuenok, thay rood thider hastily with a few menne, wenyng to haue gotenne a singuler worshippe and laude; but thay were withyn the daunger of thaym er thay wiste it, and were there bothe yslayne, with the more part of thair men that abood with thaym.

[June 28th ?]

[June 30th ?]

Whanne this was don the king dissolued the parlement, and remeued vnto Kyllingworth. And whanne the Kentishmen herde that the kyng was gon fro Londoun, thay cam ayen in to Suthwerk, and thair capteyn was loggid atte Hert. And the Thursday* aftir be fauour of some of the men of Londoun he cam in to the cite, but sone aftir thay repentid, for thay were diuidid among thaymself; but the keie; of the cite were delyuerid vnto the said capteyn, and he kepte thaym ij. daies and ij. nyghtes. And whanne he hadde entrid the cite anon he and his men fille to roborie, and robbid certayn worthi men of the cite, and put some of thaym in to prison til thay hadde paid notable summe; of money to saue thair livis. And the said capteyn rood aboute the cite beryng a nakid swerd in his hand, armed in a peire of brigaundynce; weryng a peire of gilt sporis, and a gilt salat, and a gowne of blew veluet, as he hadde be a lord or a knyzt,—and yit was he but a knaue,—and hadde his swerd born befor him.

Folio 188.

[July 5th,
Sunday.]

And the Satirday next the said capteyn commaundid that the lord Say sholde be brouzt out of the tour vnto Guyldhalle in

* Friday, not Thursday, July 3rd. "Die Veneris, tertio die Julii." Wm. Worcest.

Londoun, where that certayn justice; sat that tyme; and whanne he was ycome, the Kentisslmen wolde not suffre him forto abide the lawe, but ladde him vnto the Standard in Chepe, and there his hed was smyte of, and his body was drawe naked at a hors taille vpon the pavement so that the flesshe clivid to the stones; fro Chepe in to Suthwerk, the said capteyne; yme. Also a squier callid Crowmer that was the shireue of Kent, that hadde weddid the said lord Saie; dou3tir, be commaundement of the capteyne was broughte out of Flete, that was committid thider for certayn extorsione; that he hadde do in his office, and lad to Mile Ende, withoute Londoun, and there withoute eny othir iugement his hed was smyte of, and the lord Saie; hed and his also were bore vpon ij. long shaftis vnto Londoun brigge, and there set vppe, and the lord Saie; body was quartrid.

On the Sunday next, men of London seyng the tyranny and robory of the said cursid capteyne and of his men; and whanne it was nyghte thay laide hand on thayme that were disparblid aboute in the cite, and bet thaym and droof thaym out of the cite, and shit the yatis. And whanne the capteyn that was in his yn in Suthwerk saw this, anon he with his men made assault to Londoun brigge, and wolde haue come yn, and spoylid the cite; and the lord Scale; with his menne and menne of the cite faughte with thayme fro ix. of the clocke in the eyn, vnto x. of the clocke in the morow; and meny men were slayn on bothe partie;, and sore wounded; and there were slayne, Mathew Goghe a squyer of Walis, and Johan Sutton an alderman of Londoun. And this skyrmysh endurid til the brigge of tre was set on fire, betuene thaym of Kent and of Londoun; and thanne thay of Kent withdrow thaym litille and litille. And thair capteyn put alle his pilage and the godis that he hadde robbid in to a barge, and sente it to Rouchestre be watir, and he wente be lande and wolde haue go in to the castel of Queneburghe with a fewe men that were left with himme, but he was let of his purpo;. And anon he fledde in to the wode cuntre beside Lewes, and the shireue of

A.D. 1450.

[July 6th,
Monday.]Folio 188 b.
[July 7th.]

[July 8th.]

[July 9th.]

A.D. 1450.

Kent him pursude, and there he was wounded vnto the dethe, and take and caried in a carte toward Londoun, and be the wey he deiðe.* And thanne his hed was smyte of and set on Londoun brigge, and his body quartrid and sent to dyuers tounez of Englonð; whoo; tirannye endurid fro Trinite Sunday vnto Saint Thomas eve; of Caunterbury: and thus endid this capteyn of myschief.

[May 31st.]

Folio 189.

And this same yeer, the commune; aroo; in dyuers partie; of Englonð, as in Sussex, Salisburie, Wilshire, and othir place;, and dede moche harm to meny persone;.

And this same yeer, was the yeer of grace at Rome, and began on Neweyeris day, and lastid vnto the same day the nexte yeer folowyng.

ANNO xxix.
[xxviii]

The xxix † yere of king Harri, Normandie was lost be the vntrouthe and fals couetize of Edmund duke of Somerset, beyng that tyme lieutenaut of Normandie; for he menu;id and abatid the noubre of the soudiers that were in the garison;, and sente thaym in to Englonð vnpaid of thair wage;, wherby the strengthe of Normandie was lost.

Also the comune vois and fame was that tyme, that the duke of Suffolk William de la Pole, and the said duke of Somerset, with othir of thair assent, hadde maad delyteraunce of Aunge and Mayn withoute assent of this lond vnto the kyng of Cicile the quene; fader; and hadde also aliened and sold the duchie of Normaudie to the king of Fraunce; wherfore alle the peple of this lond and speciali the commune; cride ayens the said duke of Suffolk, and said he was a traitour; and atte instaunce and peticioun of the said commune;

* A proclamation, promising a thousand markes for the head of Cade, was issued 10th of July. See Stowe's Annals, 616; Holinshed, iii. 635. And on the 15th of the same month an order was given to the Treasurer of the Exchequer to pay the amount to Alexander Iden, sheriff of Kent (Rymer, xi. 275). This would fix his death between the 10th and 15th July. The Rolls of Parliament seem to prove that it must have taken place after the 11th Rot. Parl. v. 224.

† Eve of translation of Thomas of Canterbury, July 6th.

‡ The Chronicler is still in the 28th of Henry VI.

of the parlement holden that tyme at Westmynstre, he was arestid and put in to the tour. A.D. 1450.
[January 28th.]

This duke of Suffolk hadde axed befor this tyme of on that was an astronomer, what sholde falle of him, and how he sholde ende his lif; and whanne the said astronomer hadde labourid therfore in his said craft, he ansuerde to the duke and said that he sholde die a shameful deth, and counselid him alwey to be war of the tour; wherfor be instaunce of lordis that were his frendis, he was some delyuerid out of the said tour of Londoun. Folio. 189 b.

Thanne the kyng seyng that alle this lond hatid the said duke dedly, and that he myzt not bere ne abide the malice of the peple, and exilid him for terme of v. yeer. And the Friday the iij. day of May,* he took his shippe at Episwich and sailed forth in to the high see, where anothir shippe callid the Nicholas of the Tour lay in waite for him, and took him. And thay that were wythynne grauntid him space of a day and a nyghte to shryue him, and make him redy to God. And thanne a knaue of Yrlond smot of his hed, vpon the side of the boot of the said Nicholas of the Tour, notwithstanding his saaf conduct; and the body with the hed was cast to the lond at Douor. [March 17.]

And this yeer, on Newyeris day, began the yeer of grace at Saint Jame;.

And this same yeer † saint George; day fille on Estirday, and Corpus Christi day fille on Midsomer day, that is to say, the viij. kalendes of Juylle. [Anno xxix^e.]
A.D. 1451.

The xxx. yeere of kyng Harry, aboute Shroftyde, the duke of Yorke, the erle of Deuenshire, and the lord Cobham, gadered a grete peple in destruccioun of theire enemyes that were aboute the kyng; and sente by an herowde to London, prayng that they myghte [Anno xxx.]
A.D. 1452.
[February.]

* He was to leave the kingdom *before* the 1st of May (Rot. Parl. v. 183.)

† The 29th Henry VI. must be here intended, although Easter day in that year was April 25, and the fixed feast mentioned in the text (St. George's) was April 23. But the second calculation is accurate, for Corpus Christi day, 1451, fell on the 24th of June.

A.D. 1452.
Folio 190.

passee wyth theyre peple thorough the cyte, but they cowde gete no graunte therof for asynoché as the kyng had commaunded the contrary. Wherefore thay passed ouer the Temes by Kyngstone brige, and wente forthe to the toun of Derteforde in Kent; and there, besyde the toun, ordeyned and pyghte theyre felde. And thenne the kyng with many lordes wyth the nombre of xv. M^l. men, came towarde the seyde duke of Yorke, for to dystresse hym and his peple. And when the duke sawe that the peple of Kent and of other places came nat to hym as they had promysed, and that they were nat stronge ynoughe for the kyngys parte, by entrete of diuerse bysshops they yelde theym vnto the kynges grace, and so retorned to London. And there the matier was put in a rewle betwene the kyng and the seyde duke, as for that tyme.

Anno xxxj.
A.D. 1453.
[July.]

The xxxj. yere of kyng Harry, in the moneth of May, the erle of Shrouesbury was slayne besyde Burdeux; and sir Edward Hulle, knyghte, and the lorde Lyle sone of the sayde erle, and the lorde Molyns take prysoner, and after delyuered for a grete raunsom.

Anno xxxij.
A.D. 1453-4.

The xxxij. yere of kyng Harry, and the yere of oure Lorde M^l.iiijc.liiij.* on the Saturday the xiiij. day of Octobre, in the feste of seynt Edward the Confessoure, was bore at Westmynstre Edward the furst sone of kyng Harry; whoos godfadres were master Johan Kempe, archebysshoppe of Caunterbury and bysshoppe cardinal of Rome, and Edmund duke of Somerset, his godmother was the duchesse of Buckynghame: and master William Wayneflete, bysshop of Wynchestre, hym baptized.

Folio 190 b.

A.D. 1454.

And this same yeer, deyed the same mastre Johan Kempe archebysshop of Caunterbury on the Friday the xxij. day of Marche. After whom succeeded in to the seyde archebysshopryche mastre Thomas Bouchier bisshoppe of Ely, and into the office of the chaunceler, ser Richard Nevyle erle of Salysbury.

Anno xxxiiij.
A.D. 1454-5.

The xxxiiij. yere of kyng Harry, the erle Douglas of Scotlonde

* Prince Edward was born Saturday 13th October, feast of translation of Edw. Conf. 1453.

fled oute of Scotlande and came into Engeland, because that the kyng of Scottis hadde vnmanly and traytourly slayne the sayde erle hys brother vnder sauf conduct. And he became kyng Harrye; liege man, and was swore to him and dede to him homage, and had a place assigned to him in the parlement.

This same yere, in the moneth of Juyn [May*], the kyng wolde haue ryde to Leycestre for to haue holde a counseylle there; and rode by the toun of Watforde, abiding there alle nyghte, and came on the morow to Saynt Albons aboute ix. of the clocke.

Thenne was there a mortalle debate and a variaunce bitwene Richard duke of York, Richard erle of Salesbury, Richard erle of Warrewyke, and Edmund duke of Somerset, be whom at that tyme the kyng was principally gided and gouerned, as he had be before by the duk of Suthfolk. And this saide duke Edmond euer kept hym nygh the kyng, and durste nat departe fer from his presence, dreding alwey the power of the seyde duk of York and of the forseyde erles, and euer excited and stered the kyng ageyns thaym; notwithstanding that the comones of this lande hated this duk Edmond and loued the duk of York, because he loued the communes and preserued the commune profyte of the londe.

The seyde duke Richard and the erle abouesayde, seying that they myghte nat preuayle ne withstond the malice of the forseyde duk Edmond; the whiche dayly entended and prouoked the kyng to theyre fynal destruccioun; and gadered priuily a power of peple and kept thaym couertly in villages aboute the toun of Seynt Albons; and whan the kyng was there, they beseged the toun aboute, and sente to the kyng besechyng hym that he wolde sende oute vnto theym theyre mortal enemy, Edmond duke of Somerset, and enemy to alle the reame; yef he wolde nat so, they wolde haue hym by streynghyte and violence. The kyng by advyse of his counseylle answered and seyde he wolde nat delyuer him.

First battayle
of Seint Albons.†
[May 22nd.]

* Correction in the text by the hand of Stowe.

† By the hand of Stowe.

A.D. 1455.

Whanne the duk of York and the erles herde this aunswere, thoughte the tounne were strongly barred and arrayed for defence, they and theyr peple brake doune vyolently howses and pales on the este syde of the tounne, and entred in to seynt Petres strete sleying alle tho that wythestood theym. Thanne came the kyng oute of the abbey wyth his baner dysplayed in to the same strete, and duke Edmond wythe hym, and the duk of Bokyngham, the erle of Northumbrelonde, and the lorde Clyfforde, and the lorde Sudeley beryng the kynges baner; and there was a sore fyghte, as for the tyme, and there at laste was slayne the seyde duke Edmond, the erle of Northumbrelond, and the lorde Clyfforde; the kyng that stode vndre his baner was hurte in the necke wythe an arowe. And when the seyde duke Edmonde and the lordes were slayne, the batayle was ceased. And thus was done the Thursday the xxij. day of May.

Folio 191 b.

Thys sayde Edmond duke of Somerset had herde a fantastyk prophecy that he shuld dy vndre a castelle; wherefore in as meche as in him was, he lete the kyng that he sholde nat come in the castelle of Wyndsore, dredyng the seyde prophecy; but at Seynt Albons ther was an hostry hauyng the sygne of a castelle, and before that hostry he was slayne.

When this was done, the forseyde duke of York and the erles returned to Londoun, and had the kyng with theym.

And at this bataylle were slayne lx. persones of gentilmen and of other.

[Anno xxxiv.]
A.D. 1456.

And this same yeer, in the moneth of Juyne was seen *stella comata*, betwene the northe and the est, extendyng her benes towards the sowthe. The whiche sterre was seyenne also in the court of Rome, as they reported that came fro thens.

Anno xxxv.
A.D. 1456-7.

The xxxv. yere of kyng Harry, and the yere of oure lorde M^c.cccc.lviij.* a pylgryme that alle his dayes had be a shipmanne,

* Michaelmas, 1457, was in the 36th Henry VI. Holinshed places the second prodigy here mentioned under November 1456.

came fro seynt James in Spayne into Englonde aboute Mighelmas, A.D. 1456. and was loged in the toune of Weymouth, in Dorsetshyre, with a brewer, a Duchemanne, the whiche had be with hym in his seyde pylgremage. And as the sayde pylgryme laye in his bedde waking, he sawe one come in to the chambre clothed alle in whyte hauing a whyte hecde, and sate doune on a fourme nat fer fro hys bed; and alle the chambre was as lyghte of hym as it had be clere day. The pylgryme was agaste and durst not speke, and anone the seyde spirite vanysshed away. The secund nyghte the same spyryte came ayene in lykewyse, and wythoute eny tareyng vanysshed away. In the morow the pylgrym tolde alle this to his oste, and seyde he was sore afeerde, and wolde no more lye in that chambre. Hys oste counseled hym to telle this to the parysshe preeste, and shryue hym of all his synnes, demyng that he hadde be acombred with some grete dedely syme. The pylgrym sayde, "I was late shryue at seynt James, and rescued there my Lord God, and sethe that tyme, as fer as I canne remembre, I haue nat offended my conscience." Natheles he was shryuene, and tolde alle this to the preest; and the preest seyde, "Sen thou knowest thy selfe clere in conscience, haue a goode herte and be nat agast, and yef the sayde spirite come ayene, coniure hym in the name of the Fader, and of the Sone, and of the Holy Goste, to telle the what he ys." The iij^d nyghte the spyryte came ayene in to the chambre as he had do before, wyth a grete lyghte; and the pylgrym, as the preest had counseled him, coniured the spyryte, and bade hym telle what he was. The spyryte answered and seyde, "I am thyne eme, thy faderes brother." The pylgrym seyde, "How longe ys it ago sen thou deyde?" The spiryte seyde, "ix. yere." "Where ys my fader?" seyde the pylgrime. "At home in his owne hous," seyde the spiryte, "and hath another wyfe." "And where ys my moder?" "In heuene," seyde the spiryte. Thenne seyde the spiryte to the pylgryme, "Thou haste be at seynt James; trowest thou that thou hast welles done thy pylgremage?" "So I hoope," saide the pylgryme. Thanne sayde the spiryte,

Folio 192.

Folio 192 b.

A.D. 1456.

"Thow hast do to be sayde there iij. masses, one for thy fader, another for thy moder, and the iij^{de} for thy selue ; and yef thou haddest lete say a masse for me, I had be delieured of the peyne that I suffre. But thow most go ayene to seynt James, and do say a masse for me, and yeue iij^d. to iij. pore men." "O," sayde the pylgrime, "howe shulde I go ayene to seynt James? I haue no money for myne expenses, for I was robbed in the shyppe of v. nobles." "I know welle thys," sayde the spirite, "for thow shalt fynde thy purce hanging at the ende of the shyp and a stoone thereynne ; but thow most go ageyne to seynt James, and begge, and lyue of alnesse." And when the spyryte had thus seyde, the pylgryme saw a deuelle drawe the same spyryte by the sleue, for to haue hym thennys. Thenne saide the spyryte to the pylgryme, "I haue folewed the this ix. yere, and myghte neuer speke with the vnto now ; but blessed be the hous where a spyryte may speke, and farewell, for I may no lenger abyde with the, and therfore I am sory:" and so he vanysshed away. The pylgryme went into Portyngale, and so forthe to seynt James, as the spyryte had hym commaunded ; wherefore I counseyll euey man to worship seynt James.

Folio 193.

Also this yere, in the moneth of Novembre, in the yle of Portlond, nat fer from the forseide toune of Weymouthe was sey a cocke commyng oute of the see, hauyng a greete creeste vppon his hede and a greete rede beerde and legges of half a yerde long, and stood in the water and crew iij. tymes ; and euey tyme that he crew he turned hym rounde aboute, and bekened wyth his hede towarde the north, the southe, and the weste, and he was of the coloure of a fesaunt ; and when he had crowe iij. tymes he vanysshed away.

A.D. 1457.

[August 28th.]

And this same yere, the xxviij. day of August, on the Sunday in the morow, the Frensshemen robbed and spoyled the toune of Sandewyche in Kent, abydyng thereynne an hoole day, and at the laste a kynghte of the contre called ser Thomas Kyryel drofe theym to the see, and kylde many of theym.

The xxxvj. yere of kyng Harry, in the moneth of January, dyed the erle of Deuynshire in the abbey of Abyndoun poysened, as men sayde, and beyng there at that tyme with quene Margarete.

A.D. 1457-8.
[Anno xxxvj.]
trew with the
record.*

And this same yere, and the yere of oure Lorde M^{liiijc}.lvij. master Reynold Pocock bysshop of Chichestre a secular doctour of dyuynyte, that had labored meny yeres for to translate Holy Scripture into Englysshe; passing the bondes of diuinite and of Crysten beleue, was accused of certayne articles of heresy, of the whiche he was conuict before the archebysshoppe of Caunterbury and other bysshopys and clerkys; and vtterly abiured, reuoked, and renounced the sayde articles opynly at Powles Crosse in his moder tunge as folowethe hereafter. "In the name of the Holy Trynyte, Fader, Sone, and Holy Gost, I Reynold Pocok bysshop of Chichestre vnworthy, of myne owne power and wyll withoute eny maner coercioun or drede, confesse and knowlege that I herebefore this tyme presumyng of myne natural wytte, and preferring my iugement and naturalle resoun before the Newe and the Olde Testament, and the auctoryte and determinacoun of oure moder hooly church, haue holde, wrytenne and taughte otherwys thanne the hooly Romane and uniuersalle church techythe, prechethe, or obseruethe; and ouer thys, ayenst the trew catholyk and aposteles feythe, I haue made, wryten, taughte and publysshed meny and diuerse perylous doctrynes, bookes, werkes and wrytyng, conteynyng heresydes and errours contrary to the feythe catholyk and determinacoun of holy church; and specially these heresydes and errours folowyng, that ys to say:

The 4 of
Decembar.†

The abiuracoun
of master
Reynold Pocok,
bysshoppe of
Chichestre.

Folio 193 b.

"In primis, quod non est de necessitate fidei credere quod Dominus noster Ihesus Christus post mortem descendit ad inferos.

"Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis, credere in sanctorum comunione.

* Stowe.

† By the hand of Stowe. Pecock's final examination upon the charge of heresy before the Archbishop and bishops had been on November 28th, when he made his private recantation (Wood, Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. bk. i. p. 222.)

A.D. 1457.

"Item, quod ecclesia vniuersalis potest errare in hiis que sunt fidei.

"Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere et tenere illud quod consilium generale et vniuersalis ecclesia statuit, approbat, seu determinat in fauorem fidei et ad salutem animarum, est ab vniuersis Christi fidelibus approbandum, credendum et tenendum.

Folio 194.

"Wherefore I, myserable synner, whiche here before long tyme haue walked in derkenesse, and now by the mercy and infynyte goodnes of God reduced in to the ryghte wey and lyghte of trouthe, and considering myself greuously haue synned and wyckedly haue enformed and enfect the peple of God, retorne and come ayene to the vnyte of our moder holy churche; and alle heresydes and errours wryten and conteyned in my seyde bookes, workes and wrytyng, here solemply and openly reuoke and renounce, whiche heresydes and errours, and alle other spices of heresydes, I haue before thys tyme before the moste reuerend fader in God and my good lord of Caunterbury, in dyuers and lawfull forme iudicially abiured; submytting myself, beyng thanne and also now at this tyme verrey contryte and penytent synner, to the correccioun of the churche and of my sayde lorde of Caunterbury,

"And ouer thys, exhortyng and requiring in the name and vertew of Almyghtye God, in the saluacioun of youre soules and of myne, that no man hereafter yeue feyth and credence to my seyde pernycyous doctrynes, heresydes and errours, neyther my sayde bookes kepe, holde or rede in any wyse; but that they alle suche bokes, workes and wrytyng, suspect of heresydes, delyuer in alle goodly haste vnto my saide lorde of Caunterbury or to his commyssioners and deputies, in eschewyng of meny inconuenientys and grete peryles of soules, the whiche elles myghte be cause of the contrary. And ouer this declaracioun of my conuersion and repentaunce I here openly assent, that my seyde bookes, werkes and wrytyng, for declaracioun and cause aboue rehersed be deput vn to the fyre; and openly brende in ensample and terrour of alle other," &c.

"Wythe wondrethe that reson nat telle can,
 Howe a mayde ys a moder, and God ys manne,
 Fle reasonne, and folow the woundre,
 For beleue hathe the maystry and reasone ys vnder."

A.D. 1457.

Thys made the sayde Pocock, as it was seyde.

And after thys he was pryued of his bysshoppryche, hauyng a certeyne pensione assigned vn to hym for to lyue on in an abbey, and sone after he dyed.

[A.D. 1460.?]]

Afterwarde this same yere, was holde a counseylle at Westmynstre aboute Shrofttyde, to the whiche came the yong lordes whoos fadres were sleyn at Seynt Albons; that ys to sey, the duke of Somerset, the erle of Northumberland, and his brother lord Egremount, and the lorde Clyfforde, with a grete power, and were loged withoute the walles of Londoun aboute Templebarre and Westmynstre. The cyte wolde nat receyue theym, because they came ageyns the pease. The duk of York and the erle of Salesbury came but onely with theyre householde men in pesyble manner, thynkyng none harme, and were loged wythynne the cytee; for they abouesayde came forto dystroy vtterly the sayde duk of York and the erle of Salesbury, and of Warrewyk; and the cyte was euery day armed forto withstonde the malice of tho yong lordes yef nede had be. And sone after came the erle of Warrewyk fro Caleys, wherof he was capteyne, and lay wythynne the cyte.

A.D. 1458.

[February.]]

Folio 194 b.

Thanne the byshoppys and other lordes tretyd betwyxt theym of the pease and accorde, and after long trete bothe partyes submytted theym to the laude and arbytrement of the kyng and his counselle. The whiche after good deliberacione and aysement yaf this awarde and arbitrement; that xlv. *li.* of yerely rente shulde be amorteyسد and founded in for euermore by the sayde duk of York and the erles, in the abbey of Seynt Albons, where the forseyde lordes so slayne were buryed, for to pray for theyre soules and for the soules of alle tho that were slayne there. And ouer this the sayde duk of York and the erles shulde pay to the duke of Somerset and to hys

A.D. 1458. moder, to the erle of Northumbrelond, to the lorde Egremont and to the lorde Clyfford, a notable summe of money, for recompens of theyre fadres dethe, and for wronges done vnto theym.

Folio 195. Where uppon was made wrytyng and suerte; and so was the trowble ceased, and pease and accorde made betwene theym; but hit endured nat long.

One of the causes of this trouble betwene the duk of York and the duk of Somerset was thys—Duryng the kynges sykenesse the [April 3, 1454.] duk of York was made protector of Englund, whereof the duk of Somerset had grete indignacioun and alwey malygned ayenst hym - and stered the kyng ageyne hym; natheles meny of the lordes of the counceyl fauored more the duk of York thanne hym. Wherefore for certeyne causes and articles that were leyde ayenst the [Nov. 1453.] seyde duk of Somerset, he was commytted by the kynges counselle to the toure of London: but be instaunce and mediacione of his frendes he was sone delyuered, vnder this condicione, that he shulde neuer after entremete, ne have a do with the gouernaunce of the reame, and that he sholde nat come nyghe the kyng by xx. myle. And for to obserue and kepe these condicions he was swore vppon a book.

[Feb. 7, 1455.] Whenne he was delyuered oute of the toure, he took more vppon hym thenne he dyd before, stiryng the kyng dayly and maliciously ageyns the forseyde duke of York and erles, coniectyng and ymaginyng howe he myghte dystroy theyme; but at seynt Albonys he fylle in to the same snare that he had ordeyned for theyme.

[Anno xxxvij].* The xxxvij. yere, the kyng and the quene beyng at Westmynstre, A.D. 1458. the ix. day of Nouembre fylle a grete debate betwene Richard erle of Warrewyk and theym of the kynges hous, in so moche that they wolde haue sleyn the erle; and vnnethe he escaped to his barge, Folio 195 b. and went anone after to Caleys for a lytel before he was made capteyne therof by auctoryte of the parlement.

[Anno xxxvij.] Sone afterwarde the yonge duke of Somerset by steryng of theyme

* By the hand of Stowe.

that hated the erle of Warrewyk was made capteyn of Caleys, and a pryue seale directe to the erle for to dyscharge hym of the capteynshyppe; but the erle forasmeeche as he was made be auctoryte of the parlement, he wolde nat obey the pryue seale, but continued forth in the sayde offyce meny yeres after.

A.D. 1459.
[October 9th.]

The xxxviij. yere of kyng Harry, in a lytelle toune in Bedfordshyre, there fylle a bloody rayne, whereof the rede dropys appered in shetes, the whiche a woman had honged out for to drye.

Anno xxxviij.
A.D. 1459-60.

In this same tyme, the reame of Englonde was oute of alle good gouernaunce, as it had be meny dayes before, for the kyng was simple and lad by couetous counseyll, and owed more then he was worthe. His dettes encreased dayly, but payment was there none; alle the possessyons and lordeshyppes that perteyned to the crowne the kyng had yeuue away, some to lordes and some to other simple persones, so that he had almoste noughte to lefe onne. And suche ymposicionen as were put to the peple, as taxes, tallages, and quynzymes, alle that came from theym was spende on vayne, for he helde no householde ne meyntened no warres. For these mys-gouernaunces, and for many other, the hertes of the peple were turned away from thayne that had the londe in gouernance, and theyre blyssyng was turnyd in to cursyng.

The quene with such as were of her affynyte rewled the reame as her lyked, gaderyng ryches innumerable. The offices [*sic*] of the reme, and specially the erle of Wylshyre tresorere of Englonde for to enryche hymself, peled the pore peple, and disheryted ryghtefulle cyres, and dede meny wronges. The quene was defamed and desclaundered, that he that was called Prince, was nat hir sone, but a bastard goten in avoutry; wherefore she dreading that he shulde nat succede hys fadre in the crowne of Englonde, allyed vn to her alle the knyghtes and squyers of Chestreshyre for to haue theyre benyuolence, and helde open householde among theym; and made her sone called the Prince yeuue a lyuery of Swannys to alle the gentilmenne of the contre, and to many other throught the

Folio 146.

A.D. 1459.

lande; trustyng thorough thayre streynghite to make her sone kyng; makyng pryue menys to some of the lordes of Englonde for to styre the kyng that he shulde resygne the croune to hyre sone: but she coude nat bryng her purpos aboute.

[Sept. 23rd.]

The xxxviij. yere of kyng Harry, in the moneth of Septembre, the yere of our Lord, M^c.cccc.lix. on the Sonday in the feste of Seynt Mathew, Richard erle of Salesbury, hauyng with hym vij. M^l. of wele arayed men, dredyng the malyces of his enemyes and specially of the quene and hyre company the whiche hated hym dedly and the duk of York and the erle of Warrewyk also, tooke hys wey towarde Ludlow where the sayde duk of York lay at that tyme, to thentent that they bothe togedre wolde haue ryde to the kyng to Colshylle in Staffordshyre, for to haue excused theym of certeyne articles and fals accusaciones touchyng thaire ligeaunce layde agayns theyme maliciously by their enemyes.

Folio 196 b.

Blorehethe.
[Sept. 23rd.]

Whenne the kyng herde of thayre commyng, they that were aboute hym counseyled hym to gadre a power for to wythestand theym, and enforined hym that they came forto dystroy hymme. Thenne lay the quene at Eglisshale, and anone by hire stiryng the kyng assembled a grete power whereof the lorde Audeley was chyef and had the ledyng of thaym, and wente forthe in to the felde called Blorehethe; by the whyche the sayde duk of York and the erl most nedes passe. And there bothe hostes mette and countred to gedre, and fauȝt mortally. And there was the lorde Audeley sleyn, and meny of the notable knyghtes and squyers of Chesshyre that had resceued the lyuery of the swannes; and there were take prysoners, the erlles ij. sones of Salisbury, Thomas and Johan, and ser Thomas Haryngtone, and enprysoned in the castelle of Chestre; but sone after they were delyuered.

After this discomifiture, the erlle past forthe to duke Richard to Ludlow, and thyder came to theyme fro Calcys the erle of Warrewyk, and they iiij. wrote a letter vn to kyng Harry, whereof the tenoure ys thus:—

“Most Crystyne kyng, ryghte hyghe and myghtye Prince, and A.D. 1459.
 oure most drad souuerayne lorde, after as humble recommendacione
 to youre hyghe excellence as we suffice. Oure trewe entent to the
 prosperyte and augmentacione of youre hyghe estate, and to the
 commone wele of this reaume, hath be showd vn to youre hyghenesse
 in suche wrytyng as we made thereof. And ouer that, an endenture
 sygned by oure handes in the church Cathedrale of Worcestre
 comprehendyng the preef of the trouthe and dewte that, God
 knowethe, we bere to youre seyde estate and to the preemynence
 and prerogatif therof, we sent vn to youre good grace by the prior
 of the saide church and diuerse other doctours, and among other, Folio 137.
 by master William Lynwode, doctour of diuinite, whyche mynistrad
 vnto us seuerally the blessed Body of God our Lorde Jhesu; sacred
 whereoponne, we and euery of vs deposyd for oure sayde trouthe
 and dewtee accordyng to the tenure of the seyde endenture. And
 syth that tyme, we haue certyfyed at large in wrytyng and by mouthe
 by Garter kyng of Armes, nat only to youre sayde hyghenesse, but
 also to the good and worthy lordes beyng aboute youre moste noble
 presence, the largenesse of oure sayde trouthe and dewte, and oure
 entent and oure disposicione to seche alle the mocions that myghte
 serue conueniently to thaffirmacione therof, and to oure parfyte
 suertes from suche inconuenient and unreuerent geopardyes, as we
 haue ben put ynne diuerse tymes herebefore. Wherof we haue
 cause to make, and owe to make, suche exclamacione and compleynt,
 nat withoute reasone, as ys nat unknowen to alle the sayd worthy
 lordes and to alle his lande, and wolle offre vs to youre hyghe pre-
 sence to the same entent, yef we myghte so do wythe oure sayde
 sewrte, whiche onely causethe vs to kepe aboute vs suche felyshyp
 as we do in oure leeffulle. And hereto we haue forborne and avoyded
 alle thynges that myghte serue to the effusione of Crysten blood,
 of the drede that we haue of God and of youre royalle mageste;
 and haue also eschewed to approche your seyde moste noble pre-
 sence, of the humble obeysaunce and reuerence whereon we haue

A.D. 1459. and duryng oure lyfe wolle haue the same. And yet neuertheles, we here that we be proclaimed and defamed in oure name vnryghtfully, vnlawfully, and sauynge youre hyghe reuerence, vntrewly, and otherwyse, that God knowethe, then we haue yee cause; knowynge certaynly that the blessed and noble entent of youre sayde goode grace and the ryghtwysnesse thereof ys, to take, repute, and accepte youre trew and lowly sugettys, and that it accordethe neyther with youre sayde entent, ne wythe youre wyll or pleasure, that we shuld be otherwyse take or reputed. And ouer that, oure lordshyppes and tenauntes bene of hyghe vyolence robbed and spoyled, ayenst youre peese and lawes and alle ryghtewysnesse. We therefore, as we suffice, beseche youre sayde good grace, to take, repute, and receyue thervnto oure sayde trouthe and entent, whiche to God ys know, as we shewe it by the seyde tenure of the sayde endenture, and nat apply youre sayde blessednesse ne the grete ryghtewysnesse and equite whereinne God hathe euer endowed youre hyghe nobeley, to thymportune impacience and violence of suche persones as entende of extreme malyce to procede vnder the shadow of youre hyghe myghte and presence to oure destruccione, for suche inordinate couetyse, whereof God ys nat pleased, as they haue to oure landes, offices, and goodes, not lettyng or sparyng therefore to put suche thyngys in alle lamentable and to sorowfulle geopardy, as moot in alle wyse take effect by the mystery of Goddys wille and power, nor nat hauyng regarde to theffusione of Crystyne blood, ne any tendrenesse to the noble blood of thys lond suche as serue to the tuicione and defens therof, ne nat weyng the losse of youre trew liegemenne of youre sayde reame, that God defende whiche knowethe oure entent, and that we haue avoyded therfro, as fer as we may with oure sewertees, nat of any drede that we haue of the sayde persones, but onely of the drede of God and of youre sayde hyghnesse, and nat wyll vse oure sayde defence vnto the tyme that we be provoked of necessity, whereof we calle heuene and erthe in to wyttensse and recorde; and therynne beseche God to be oure Juge,

Folio 197 b.

Folio 198.

and to delyuer vs accordyng to oure sayde entent, and oure sayde A.D. 1459.
trouthe and dutie to youre seyde hyghenesse, and to the sayde com-
mone wele. Most Crysten Kyng, ryghte hyghe and myghtye Prince,
and moste drad souerayne lorde, we beseche oure blessed Lord to
preserue youre honoure and estate in ioye and felycite.

“Wretynne at Ludlow, the x. day of Octobre.

“R. York, R. Warrewyk, R. Salesbury.”

After theyre excusacionne conteyned in thys letter sent to the
kyng, thay withdrowe thayme, and went in to dyuers parties of be-
yonde the see, for the more sewrte of theyre personnes: the duke of
York wente into Yrelond, where he was worshypfully resceued.
The erles of March, of Salesbury, and Warrewyk, nat wythoute
grete geopardy and perylle, as welle in the londe as in the see,
wente vnto Caleys and abood there.

Thanne was a parlement holden at Couentre, and they that were [November 1459]
chossen knyghtes of the shyres, and other that had interesse in the
parlement, were nat dyfferent but chosen a denominacione of thaym
that were enemyes to the forseyde lordes so beyng oute of the reame.
In the whiche parlement, the sayde duk of York and the iij. erles
and other, whos names shalle be rehersed afterward, withoute any
answere, as traytours and rebelles to the kyng were atteynt of treson,
and theyre goodes, lordshyppys and possessyons escheted in to the
kynges hande, and they and theyre heyres dysheryted vn to the
ixth degre. And by the kynges commissioun in euery cyte, burghle,
and tounne cryed opynly and proclaimed as for rebelles and traytours;
and theyre tenautes and there men spoyled of theyre goodes,
maymed, bete, and slayne withoute eny pyte; the tounne of Ludlow, Folio 128 b.
longyng thanne to the duk of York, was robbed to the bare walles,
and the noble duches of York vnmmanly and cruelly was entreted
and spoyled.

In the mene tyme the erle of Warrewyk, hauyng a strong and a
myghte naueye kept the straye see, and fauzt with the Spaynardys

A.D. 1459.

and kylde many of thaym, and tooke theyre grete vesselles and a carake of Jene, and gate in theym grete rychesse.

The names of the lordes and other that were atteynt in the forseyde parlement bythe these. Richard duk of York, Edward erle of Marche his sone and heyre, Richard erle of Warwyk, Edmund erle of Rutlond, Richard erle of Salesbury, Johan lorde Clyfford, lord Clyntone, ser Thomas Haryngtone, ser Johan Wenlock, Thomas Nevyle, Johan Nevyle, sones of the erle of Salesbury, James Pykryng, Johan Conyers, Thomas Par, Wylliam Oldhalle, and Harry Ratford, knyghtes: Johan Bowser, Thomas Cook, Johan Clay, Richard Gytone, Robert Browe, Edward Bowser, Thomas Vaughan, Johan Roger, Richard Gray, Watier Deuoros, Watier Hopton, Roger Kynderton, Wylliam Bowes, Fook Stafford, the lorde Powys, and Alys countesse of Salesbury.

October, 1459.*

In the monethe of Octobre next folowyng, the yonge duke of Somerset, Harry lord Roos, and lorde Audeley, with a certeyne nombre of men of armes, hauyng with theym the kynges letters, wente to Caleys to thentent that the seyde duk shulde haue be capteyne of Caleys, the whyche office the kyng had yene hym,† wenyng that the Erle of Warrewyk wolde lyghtely haue yolde vp the sayde offyce to him as he was commaunded by the kynges lettres; but when he came to the londe, they of Caleys wolde haue take hym, and with muche payne he escaped and fled in to the castelle of Guynes, and there helde hym meny dayes after; the sovdyers that came with hym were stryppyd oute of theyre harneys by thayme of Caleys, and let go. The lorde Audeley was take into Caleys, and the lord Roos fledde in to Flaunders, and afterward came priuely agayne in to Engelond.

Folio 199.

Not long afterward the lord Ryuers was sent to Sandewyche for to kepe the toun, that the erle of Warrewyk and the other lordes shulde nat londe there, for it was seyde that alle Kent fauored and supported thaym; and sothe it was: and also that the seyde lord

* By the hand of Stowe.

† By letters dated Oct. 9th, Rymer, xi. 436.

Ryuers shulde kepe certeyne grete forstage shypys, that were the A.D. 1459.
erles of Warrewyk, the whiche lay at ankere there in the hauene.

And whanne the seyde erle of Warrewyk sawe a conuenient tyme, A.D. 1460.
he sent some of his men to Sandwhyche by nyghte, the whyche took [January.]
the sayde lorde Ryuers and Antony [Woodvill*] his sone, in theyre
beddes, and lad theym ouer to Caleys, and took with theym alle the
grete shyppes, saue on called "Grace Dieu," the whyche myghte
nat be had away because she was broke in the botome.

Thanne aroos a knyght of Deuenshyre, called syr Bawdewyn [April.]
Fulford, and sayde that on payne of lesyng of his hed he wolde
destroy the erle of Warrewyk and his nauey, yef the kyng wolde
graunte hym his expensis; and he resceued therfore a M^l. marc.,
and whenne he had consumed and wasted alle that money, his vyage
was done and [he] wente home ayene.

And at laste the duk of Excestre,† that was Amyralle, was sent
to the see with a grete nauy for to dystresse the seyde erle of
Warrewyk and his nauey, and sayled from Sandwyche to Derte-
mouthe, and there for lack of vetayle and of money hys soudyers were Folio 100 b.
dysparbeled, and wente away fro hym. And betwene Sandwyche
and Dertemouth he mette the erle of Warrewyk, commyng oute of
Yrelond, that had be there to speke with the duk of York, and
broughte with hym hys moder that was fled thider for drede, and
lad her to Caleys; but the duke durst nat sette opponne the erle,
ne the erle wolde nat dystresse hym because he was amyrall, and of
the kynges bloode, but late hym passe by.

In the monethe of Juyne, this same yere, were gadered v. hundred June, 1460.
men for to fette and condue the duk of Somerset from Guynes in
to Englande, abydyng wynde in the poort of Sandwyche, and thyder

* Insertion by the hand of Stowe.

† After 24th of the month, see Rymer, xi. 451.

‡ He was appointed Admiral, March 19th; but he does not seem to have sailed till after
April 26th, see Rymer, *ibid*.

§ By the hand of Stowe.

A.D. 1460.

came sowdyers of the erles of Warrewyk and spoyled theym of theyre harness and kylde some of theym; and theyre capteyne was slayne that was called Mounfort.

Thanne sente the forseyde lordes the articles vnder wryten to the archebysshop of Caunterbury, and at large to the Communes of Engeland, of the whych articles thys ys the tenoure:—

Articles sent fro
the duk of York
and the erles, to
the Arche-
bysshop of
Caunterbury
and to the
Communes.

“Worshypfulle Syres, We, the duk of York, the erles of March, Warrewyk, and Salesbury sewde and offred to haue come vnto the kyng oure souerayn lordes most noble presens, to haue declared there afore hym, for oure dewte to God and to hys hyghenesse, and to the prosperyte and welfare of his noble estate, and to the comon wele of alle his londe, as trew lyegemen, the matiers folowyng, that ys to say:

For the furst, The grete oppressyone, extorsion, robry, murther, and other vyolencys doone to Goddys church, and to his mynystres therof, ayens Goddys and mannes law.

Folio 200.

Item, The pouerte and mysery that to oure grete heuynesse oure sayde souerayne lorde standeth inne, nat hauyng any lyuelode of the crowne of Englund wherof he may kepe hys honorable housholde, whyche causethe the spylling of his sayde lyegemenne by the takers of hys seyde howsholde, whyche lyuelode ys in theyre handes that haue be destroyers of his seyde estate, and of the seyde comunone wele.

Item, Howe hys lawes been parcially and vnrightfully gwyded, and that by thayme that sholde moste loue and tendre hys sayde lawes the sayde oppressyon and extorsyone as (*sic*) most fauored and supported, and generally, that alle rightwysnesse and justice ys exyled of the sayde lond, and that no manne dredethe to offende ayenst the sayde lawes.

Item, That it wolle please his sayde good grace to lyve upponne his owne lyuelode, whereopon hys noble progenitures haue in dayes heretofore lyued as honorably and as worthily as any Crystyn prynces; and nat to suffire the destroyers of the sayde lond and of his trewe sugettes to lyue theroponne, and therefore to lacke the

sustenaunces that sholde be bylongyng to hys sayde estate, and fynde A.D. 1460.
hys sayde householde opponne his pore communes withoute payment, whyche nouthur accordethe wyth Goddes nor mannes lawe.

Item, Howe ofte the seyde communes haue ben gretely and merueylously charged with taxes and tallages to theyre grete enporysshyng, whereof lytelle good hathe eyther growe to the kyng or to the saide londe, and of the moste substaunce therof the kyng hathe lefte to his part nat half so moche and other lordes and persones, enemyes to the sayde commune wele, haue to theyre owne vse, suffiryng alle the olde possessyons that the kyng had in Fraunce and Normandy, Angew and Meyne, Gascoyne and Guyene, wonne and goten by his fadre of moste noble memory, and othir hys noble progenitors, to be shamefully loste or solde.

Item, How they cannat cece therewith, but nowe begynne a new Folio 200 b.
charge of impositiōne and tallages vpponne the sayde peple whyche neuer afore was seen; that ys to say, euery tounshyp to fynde men for the kynges garde, takyng ensample therof of oure enemyes and aduersaries of Fraunce: whiche impositiōne and tallage yef hit be continued to theyre heyres and successours, wol be the heuyest charge and worst ensample that euer grewe in Englonde, and the forseyde sugettes, and the seyde heyres and successours, in suche bandom as theyre auncetours were neuer charged with.

Item, Where the kyng hathe now no more lyfelode oute of his reame of Englonde but onely the londe of Ireland and the toune of Caley, and that no kyng crystened hathe suche a londe and a toune withoute hys reame, dyuers lordes haue caused his hyghenesse to wryte letter; vnder his priuy scale vnto his Yrisshe enemyes, whyche neuer kyng of Englonde dyd heretofore, wherby they may haue comfort to entre in to the conquest of the sayde londe; whiche letters the same Yrisshe enemyes sent vn to me the sayde duke of York, and merueled gretely that any suche letters shuld be to theym sent, spekyng therinne gret shame and vylony of the seyde reme.

Item, In like wyse, the kyng by excytacione and laboure of the

A.D. 1460.

same lordes wrote other letters to his enemyes and aduersaryes in other landes, that in no wyse thay shold shew eny favoure or good wylle to the toun of Caleys, whereby they had comfort ynowghe to procede to the wynnyng therof; considered also, that hit ys ordeyned by the laboure of the sayde lordes, that nowther vetayle ner other thyng of refresshyng or defens shulde come oute of Englonde to the socoure or relyef of the sayde toun, to thentent that they wolde haue hyt lost, as yt may opynly appere.

Folio 201.

Item, It ys demed, and oweth gretely to be doutyd, that after that, the same lordes wolde put the same rewle of Englonde, yef they myghte haue theyre purpos and entent, in to the handes and gouernance of the seyde enemyes.

Item, How continually, syth the pytyous, shamefulle, and sorowfulle murther to alle Englonde, of that noble, worthy, and Crystyn prince, Humfrey duk of Gloucestre the kynges trew vncle, at Bury, hit hathe be labored, studyed, and conspyred, to haue dystroyed and murthryd the seyde duke of York, and the yssew that it pleased God to sende me of the royalle blode; and also of vs the sayde erlys of Warrewyk and Salysbury, for none other cause but for the trew hert that God knoweth we euer haue borne, and bere, to the profyte of the kynges estate, to the commune wele of the same reame, and defens therof.

Item, How the erles of Shrouesbury and Wylshyre, and the lorde Beaumont, oure mortalle and extreme enemyes, now and of long tyme past, hauyng the gudyng aboute the most noble persone of oure sayde souuerayn lorde, whos hyghenes they haue restrayned and kept from the liberte and fredom that bylongethe to his seyde astate, and the supporters and fauorers of alle the premysses, wolde nat suffre the kynges seyde good grace to resceue and accepte [us] as he wolde haue done, yet (*sic*) he myghte haue had his owne wylle, in hys sayde presence; dredyng the charge that wolde haue be layde vpponne theym of the mysery, destruccione, and wrechednesse of the sayde reame, wherof they be causes, and nat the kyng, whiche

ys hymself a[s] noble, as vertuous, as ryghtewys, and blyssed of dys-
posicione, as any prince erthely.

A.D. 1460.

Folio 201 b.

Item, The erles of Wylshyre and Shrouesbury, and the lorde Beaumont, nat satsfied nor content with the kynges possessyouns and hys good, stered and excyted his sayde hyghenesse to holde hys parlement at Couentre, where an acte ys made by theyre prouocacioun and laboure ayenst vs the sayde duk of York, my sones Marche and Rutlande, and the erles of Warrewyk and Salysbury, and the sones of the sayde erle of Salysbury, and meny other knyghtes and esquyers, of diuerse matiers falsly and vntrewly ymagened, as they wolde answere afore Almyghty God in the day of Dome; the whyche the sayde erles of Shrouesbury and Wylshyre and the lorde Beaumont prouoked to be maad to thentent of oure destruccione and of oure yssew, and that thay myghte haue oure lyfelode and goodes, as they haue openly robbed and dyspoyled alle oure places and oure tenementes, and meny other trew men; and now procede to hangyng and drawyng of men by tyranny, and wolde therinne shewe the largenesse of theyre vyolence and malyce as vengeance as they can, yef no remedy be prouyded at the kynges hyghenesse, whos blessednes ys nother assentyng ne knowyng therof.

We therefore, seying alle the sayde myscheues, heryng also that the Frensshe kyng makethe in hys lande grete assemble of hys peple whyche ys gretely to be drad for many causes, purpose yet ayene with Goddes grace [to] offre us to come ayene to the sayde presence of oure sayde souuerayn lorde, to opene and declare there vn to hym the myscheues aboue declared, and in the name of the land to sew in as reuerent and lowly wyse as we can to hys seyde good grace, and to haue pyte and compassione uppon hys sayde trew sugettys, and nat to suffre the same myscheue; to regne upponne theym. Requiryng yow on Goddys behalf and prayng yow in oure oune thereinne to assyste vs, doying alwey the dewte of ligeaunce in oure personnes to oure sayde souuerayne lorde, to hys estate, prerogatyf, and preemynence, and to thasuerte of hys most noble persone, where-

Folio 262.

A.D. 1460.

vnto we haue euer be and wylle be trew as any of his sugettes alyue : Whereof we call God, our Lady Saynt Mary and alle the Sayntes of heuene vn to wyttnesse and record."

In the mene tyme therlle of Wylshyre tresorer of Englonde, the lorde Scales, and the lorde Hungreford, hauyng the kynges comynssyone went to the toune of Newbury, the whyche longed to the duk of York, and there made inquysycione of alle thayme that in any wyse had shewed any fauoure or benyuolence or frendshyppe to the sayde duk, or to any of hys; whereof some were found gylty and were drawe hanged and quartered, and alle other inhabitantes of the forseide toune were spoyled of alle theyre goodes.

Folio 202 b.

Whanne thys was done the erle of Wylshyre went to Southamp-toun, and there vnder coloure for to take the erle of Warrewyk, but specyally for to stele priuily owte of the reanne as hit preued after-wardes, he armed and vytayled v. grete carrakys of Jene that were at that tyme in the port of the sayde toune, and stuffed theym with sowdyers of Englysshemen, takyng vytayle of the kynges pryce without payment, as he sholde haue made a vyage for the kyng, and put a grete parte of his tresoure in to the sayde carrake; and sone after he past owte of the port and sayled aboute in the see, dredyng alwey the commyng of the forseide erles of Warrewyk and Salesbury, and atte laste arryued in Ducheland, and sent hys sowdyers in to Englonde ayene.

Thanne were the kynges pryue seales dyrect to alle manner of bysshops, abbotys, pryores, and to alle the grete men of the spiri-tuelle and temporalte, for to leue the kyng money withoute delay for to wage men to kepe the see costes, that the sayde erles shuld nat arryue in no syde: and the sayde erle of Wylshyre made promys to alle suche persones as lent the kyng any money, that they shulde haue assignementes and repayment of the goodes of the forseide duk of York and erles, whom they called oponne traytours. And the seyde erle of Wylshyre taxed the summe what euery man shuld leue, and so he made leve of many grete summes. And ouer thys,

proclamacione was made by commaundement of the kyng, that euery A.D. 1460.
cyte, toune, and burghes, and hundredys, shuld fynde certayne
sowdyers of thayre owne coste to kepe the see costys, for drede of
landyng of the seyde erles.

Ferthermore, the communes of Kent, dredyng the malyce and the
tyranny of the forseide erlle of Wylshyre and of other, lest he wolde
exerceyse his vengeaunce vppon thaym, as he had done vppon thaym
at Newbery, and sent priuily messagers and letters to Caley's to the
forseide erles, besechyng thaym that they wolde in alle haste possible
come and socour thaym fro theyre enemyes, promyttyng that they
wolde assyste them with alle thayre power.

The sayde erles wold nat anone yeue credence to theyre wrytyng
and wordes, but send ouer in to Kent the lord Fauconbrege, to Folio 203.
know whether theyre promys and theyre dedes sholde accorde: and
anone the peple of Kent and of other shyres aboute resorted to the
sayde lorde Fauconbrege in grete nombre, abydyng the commyng of
the erles.

Whan the erles knew the trew hertes of the peple, they dysposed
theyme dayly for to com in to thys londe. And nat longe before
theyre commyng, thys balat that folowethe was sette vppon the
yates of the cyte of Caunterbury.

In the day of faste and spirituelle afflixione,
The celestiale influence of bodyes transytory,
Set asyde alle prophecyes, and alle commixtione
Of iuementys sensuall to ofte in memory,
I reduced to mynde the prophete Isay,
Consideryng Englund to God in greuous offence, with wepyng ye;
This text I fonde in his story:—
"Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens!"

Balat set
vpponne the
yates of Caun-
terbury.

Regnum Anglorum regnum Dei est,
As the Aungelle to seynt Edward dede wyttenesse;
Now regnum Sathane, it semethe, reputat best,
For filii scelerati haue broughte it in dystresse.

A.D. 1460.

This preuethe fals wedlock and periury expresse,
 Fals heryres fostred, as knowethe experyence,
 Vnryghtewys dysherytyng with false oppresse,
 Sie "omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens!"

A plantâ pedis, fro the pore tylyer of the lond
 Ad verticem of spirituelle eke temperalle ennoynted crown
 Grace ys withdrawe and Goddys mercyfulle hand,
 Exalted ys falschod, trowthe ys layde adoune;
 Euery reame cryethe owte on Engelandes tresoun.
 O falshod with thy colored presence!
 Euer shulle we syng duryng thy season,
 "Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens!"

Folio 203 b.

"Omne regnum in se divisum," sayethe dyuyn Scrypture,
 "Shall be desolate," than folewethe translacione
 Into the handes of theyre enemyes, Jewes arn figure;
 And now ys Englund in lyk reputacione,
 In wey to be conquered; truste it for sewre!
 Jhesu, for thy mercy and thy noble reuerens,
 Reforme vs to goodnesse and condicione pure,
 For, "omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens!"

Harry oure souerayne and most Crystyne kyng
 His trew bloode hathe flemed bothe be swerde and exyle;
 What prynee by thys rewle may haue long enduryng,
 That also in moste pouert hath be long whyle?
 Tho bestys that thys wroughte to mydsomer haue but a myle—
 But euer mornethe Engeland for ham that be hens
 Wythe languysshynge of herte reheryng my style,
 "Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens!"

Jonathas ys ded that Dauid shuld restore
 To the presence of the kyng, vnyte to make
 Murum pro domo Israel, presthode dar no more
 Put hymself forthie, his fat benefyce he shuld forsake.
 Mercyfulle God! it ys tyme thow for vs awake.
 Mercenarius fugit, ne wylle make resistence,
 He ferethe the wolf that wolde hys bonys crake,
 "Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens!"

Tempus ys come falshede to dystroy,
 Tempus eradicandi the wedes fro the corne,
 Tempus cremandi the breres that trees noye,
 Tempus evellendi the fals hunter with his horne,
 Tempus miserendi on por alle to torne,
 Tempus ponendi falsnes in perpetuelle absence,
 Thoroughe whom we syngyng bothe euyne and morne,
 "Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens!"

A.D. 1466.

Send hom, most gracious Lord Jhesu most benygne,
 Sende hoom thy trew blode vn to his propre veyne,
 Richard duk of York, Job thy seruaunt insygne,
 Whom Sathan not cesethe to sette at care and dysdeyne,
 But by The preserued he may nat be slayne;
 Sette hym ut sedeat in principibus, as he dyd before,
 And so to oure newe songe, Lorde, thyn erys inclyne,
 Gloria, laus et honor Tibi sit Rex Christe Redemptor!

Folio 204.

Edwarde Erle of Marche, whos fame the erthe shalle sprede,
 Richard Erle of Salisbury named prudenece,
 Wythe that noble knyghte and floure of manhode
 Richard erle of Warrewyk sheelde of oure defence,
 Also lytelle Fauconbrege, a knyghte of grete reuerence;
 Jhesu ham restore to thayre honoure as thay had before,
 And euer shalle we syng to thyn Hyghe Excellence,
 Gloria, laus et honor Tibi sit Rex Christe Redemptor!

No prynee, alle thyng consydered, wythe honoure
 In alle thyng requysyte to a kynges excellence
 Better may lyue, serche any worthy predecessoure;
 Yet hastow souuerayne lord in these lordes absenece
 Of alle thaym to a kyng ryghte resonable expens;
 Thay shalle come agayne and rekene for the scoore,
 And thou shalt syng wythe vs thys verrey trew sens,
 Gloria laus et honor Tibi sit Rex Christe Redemptor!

A.D. 1460.

The deed man gretethe yow welle,
 That ys iust trew as steele,
 With verray good entent,
 Alle the Reame of Englund
 Sone to louse from sorowes bond,
 Be ryghte indifferent iugement.

To the ryghte Worshypfulle Cyte of Caunterbury.

Howe the Erles
 landed at Sand-
 wyche.

Thanne the noble erles of Marche, Warrewyk, and Salysbury, hauyng wynde and weder at thayre plesaunce, arryued graciously at Sandwyche; where met wythe thaym master Thomas Bouchier archebysshop of Caunterbury, and a grete multitude of peple wythe hym; and wythe hys crosse before hym, [he] went forthe wythe the sayde erles and theyre peple toward Londoun, and sente an herowde to the cyte to knowe howe they were dysposed, and whether they wolde stand with theyme in thayre iust quarelle, and graunte hem leve for to passe thoroughe the cite. They that were nat frendely to the erles, counseyled the mayre and the comynalte for to ley gunne; at the brege for to kepe thaym owte, and so a lytelle diuision there was among the citezens, but yt was sone ceased.

Folio 204 b.

Than sent thay of the cyte to the sayde erles xij. worshypfulle and dyscrete aldermen, the whyche, in the name of alle the cyte, graunted thaym fre entre wythe suche seruyce as they cowde and myghte do to thayr worshyppe and honoure. Thys done, the aldermen retorned to the cyte, and the sayde herowde ageyne to the lordes.

2 of July,
 1460.*

And the second day of Juylle thay entred in to Londoun. And wythe theym came the popys legat, that nat long before had be in Englund; the whyche had auctoryte by the popes bulles for to entrete pease betwene the kyng and the erles, yt (*sic*) nede were; but, how yt were, he vsurped and toke opoune hym more power thanne he had, as it was knowenne afterward.

* By the hand of Stowe.

Thanne was a conuocacione of the clergy holden at Paulys in A.D. 1460. Londoun, and theder came the sayde erles: and the erle of Warrewyk there purposed, and recyted before alle the conuocacione, and innumerable peple standyng aboute, the causes of theyre commyng in to thys lond; and mysrewle and myscheues therof; and how with grete vyolence thay had be repeled and put from the kynges presence, that they myghte nat come to hys hyghenes forto excuse thaym of suche fals accusaciones as were layde ayens thaym; and now were come ayene, by Goddys mercy, accompanied with peple for to come to hys presens, there to declare and excuse thayre innocence, or ellys to dy in the felde; and there [they] made an open othe vppone the cros of Caunterbury that thay had euer bore trew feyth and lygeaunce to the kynges persone, wylling no more hurt to hym than to thayre owen personnes; wherof they took God and hys moder and alle the sayntes of heuene to wyttensse.

Folio 205.

The kyng, that held a counseyle at Couentre, heryng of the commyng of the erles, went to Northampton.

The erle of Salesbury be comyn assent of the cite was maad rewler and gouernour of Londoun, in absence of the forseyde erles. And the seyde erles of Marche and Warrewyk and other lordes, that ys to say the lorde Facombrege, lorde Clyntone, lorde Bourser, prioure of Seynt Johannes, lorde Audeley, lorde Bergevenny, lord Say, lord Scroope, tharchebysshoppe of Caunterbury, the popes legat, the bysshoppe of Excetre, the bysshops of Ely, Salesbury, and Rouchestre, dressed hem forth to the kyng to Northampton.

The lord Scales and the lorde Hungreford that before the commyng of the erles were in the cyte of London, wolde haue had the rewle and gouernaunce therof, but they of the cyte wold nat suffre thaym, for thay sayde that they were suffysaunt for to rewle the cyte thaymself; wherof the lordes hauyng indygnacione wente in to the toure of Londoun, and meny other grete men with theym, whos names bethe here vndre wretynne:—lord Vessy, lord Louelle, lord Delaware, lord Kendale a Gascoyne, ser Edmond Hampden

A.D. 1160.

knyghte, Thomas Broun knyghte, shireue of Kent, Johan Bruyn of Kent, ser Geruays Clyftone knyghte, tresorer of the kynges hows, ser Thomas Tyrelle knyghte, the duchesse of Exetre, and many other. And the toure was beseged by lond and by water, that no vytayl myghte come to thayme that were wythyne.

Folio 205 b.

Whanne the erles and lordes were gone to Northampton, thay that were wythyne the toure caste wyld fyre in to the cyte, and shot in smale gonnys, and brend and hurte men and wymmen and chyl dren in the stretes. And they of London leyde grete bombardes on the ferther syde of the Thamyse agayns the toure and crased the walles therof in diuerse places; natheles they hoped dayly forto haue be rescued, but alle was in veyne.

The kyng at Northampton lay atte Freres, and had ordeyned there a strong and a myghty feeld, in the medowys beside the Nonry, armed and arayed wythe gonnys, hauyng the ryuer at hys back.

The erles with the nombre of lx. M^l, as it was sayd, came to Northampton, and sent certayne bysshops to the kyng besechyng hym that in eschewyng of effusyone of Crysten blood he wolde admytte and suffre the erles for to come to his presence to declare thaym self as thay were. The duk of Bukynghame that stode besyde the kyng, sayde vn to thaym, "Ye come nat as bysshoppes for to trete for pease, but as men of armes;" because they broughte with thaym a notable company of men of armes. They answered and sayde, "We come thus for suerte of oure persones, for they that bethe aboute the kyng bythe nat oure frendes." "Forsothe," sayde the duk, "the erle of Warrewyk shalle nat come to the kynges presence, and yef he come he shalle dye." The messyngers returned agayne, and tolde thys to the erles.

Folio 206.

Thanne the erle of Warrewyk sent an herowde of armes to the kyng, besechyng that he myghte haue ostages of saaf goyng and commyng, and he wolde come naked to his presence, but he myghte nat be herde. And the iij^{de} tyme he sente to the kyng and sayde

that at ij howres after none, he wolde speke with hym, or elles dye A.D. 1466.
in the feeld.

The archebysshoppe of Caunterbury sent a bysshoppe of this lond to the kyng with an instruccione, the whyche dyd nat hys message indyfferently, but exorted and coraged the kynges part for to fyzte, as thay sayde that were there. And another tyme he was sent to the kyng by the communes, and thanne he came nat ayene, but pruely departed away. The bysshop of Herforde, a Whyte Frere, the kynges confessoure, ded the same: wherfore after the batayle he was comnytted to the castelle of Warrewyk, where he was long in pryson.

Thanne on the Thursday the xth day of Juylle, the yere of oure Lorde M^l.cccc.lx, at ij howres after none, the sayde erles of Marche and Warrewyk lete crye thorough the felde, that no man shuld laye hand vpponne the kyng ne on the commune peple, but onely on the lordes, knyghtes and squyers: thenne the trumpettes blew vp, and bothe hostes countred and faughte togedre half an oure. The lorde Gray, that was the kynges vawewarde, brake the feelde and came to the erles party, whyche caused sauacione of many a mannys lyfe: many were slayne, and many were fled, and were drowned in the ryuer.

The bataylle of
Northampton.
[July 10th.]

The duk of Bukyngham, the erle of Shrouesbury, the lorde Beaumont, the lorde Egremount were slayne by the Kentysshmen besyde the kynges tent, and meny other knyghtes and squyers. The ordenaunce of the kynges gones awayled nat, for that day was so grete rayne, that the gones lay depe in the water, and so were queynt and myghte nat be shott.

Folio 206 b.

Whanne the feld was do, and the erles thorough mercy and helpe had the vycctory, they came to the kyng in his tent, and sayde in thys wyse—

“Most Noble Prince, dysplease yow nat, though it haue pleased God of His Grace to graunt vs the vycctory of oure mortalle enemyes, the whyche by theyre venymous malyce haue vntrewly

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stered and moued youre hyghenesse to exyle vs oute of youre londe, and wolde vs haue put to fynalle shame and confusyone. We come nat to that entent for to inquyete ne greue youre sayde hyghenesse, but for to please youre moste noble personne, desiryng most tendrely the hyghe welfare and prosperyte thereof, and of alle youre reame, and for to be youre trew lyegemen, whyle oure lyfes shalle endure."

[July 16th.]

The kyng of theyre wordes was gretely recomforted, and anone was lad in to Northampton wythe processyone, where he rested hym iij dayes, and thanne came to London, the xvj day of the monethe abouesayde, [and] loged in the bysshop's paleys. For the whyche vyctory London yaf to Almyghtye God grete lawde and thankyng.

Nat longe before this batayle it was proclamed in Lancastreshyre and Chesshyre, that yef so were that the kyng had the vyctory of the erles, that thanne euery man shulde take what he myghte and make havok in the shyres of Kent, Essex, Middylsex, Surreye, Sussex, Hamshyre and Wylshyre: bot God wolde nat suffire suche fals robbery.

[July 19th.]

Furthermore the Saturday the xix day of Juylle, thay that were in the toure of Londoun for lack of vytayl yolden vp the toure, and came oute: of the whyche afterward some were drawe and beheded.

Folio 207.

The lord Scales, for as meche as men of Londoun loued hym nat, he thoughte that he myghte haue stande in the more sewrte in the saintwary of Westmynstre thanne in the toure. Late in the euyn, [he] entred a boote with iij persones rowyng toward Westmynstre, and a wommanne the whiche that knewe hym ascryed hym, and anone the boote men gadered theym togedre and folowed hym, and fylle vppone hym, and kylde hym and caste hym on the lond, besyde seynt Mary Ouerey. And grete pyte it was, that so noble and so worshypfulle a knyghte, and so welle approued in the warrys of Normandy and Fraunce, shuld dy so myscheuously.

Whan quene Margarete harde telle, that the kyng was dyscom-

fyted and take, she fledde with hyr sone and viij persones in to the castelle of Hardlaghe in Wales, and as she went by Lancastreshyre, there she was robbed and dyspoyled of alle her goodes, to the valew of x.M^l. marc., as yt was sayde; and sone after she went into Scotlonde.

Thys same yeere, in the monethe of August, the kyng of Scottes beseged the castelle of Rokesburghe in Northumbreland, and on seynt Laurence day in the mornynge, er he had herde masse, he wolde haue fyred a grete gonne for to have shot to the castelle, and the chambre of the gonne brake and slowe hym.

The xxxix. yere of kyng Harry, aboute seynt Mathews day in Septembre, the duk of Somerset came fro Guynes in to Englund.

And thys same yere the Tewesday the viij. day of Octobre, a parlement was begonne at Westmynstre; and thyder came Richard duk of York, that a lytelle before was come oute of Yrlond, and was loged in the paleys, the kyng beyng there, and brak vp the dores of the kynges chambre. And the kyng heryng the grete noyse and rumore of the peple, yaafe hym place and took another chambre.

Then the seyde duk Richard, remembryng the grete and manyfolde wrongys, exyls, and vylonyes, that he had suffred and be put vnto by thys seyde kyng Harry, and by hys; and also how wrongfully and vniustly he had be, and was, dyspleased and dyseased of hys ryghte enheritaunce of the reaume and croune of Englund, by violent intrusyonne of kyng Harry the iiij^{the}, whyche vnryghtfully, wrongfully, and tyrannously vsurped the crowne after the dethe of kyng Rychard his cosyn, verray and ryghtfulle heyre therof, and so wrongfully holdyn from hymm, and occupied and holde, by the sayde kyng Harry the iiij^{the}, the v^{the}, and kyng Harry the vj^{the} that now ys in to thys tyme; he as ryghte heyre by lynealle descens from the sayde kyng Richard, chalaunged and claymed the

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Ye 10 of August.*

Anno xxxix.
A.D. 1460-1.Ye 21 of September.*
[October 8th.]

Folio 207 b.

Kynge Harry
forceid to forsake his chamber.*

* By the hand of Stowe.

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sayd reame and croune of Englonde, purposyng withoute any more delay to haue be crowned onne Alle Halow day, thanne next folow-
yng : and heropon sent to the lordes and comones of the parlement
in wrytyng, hys sayde clayme, tytle and pedegre, and nat wold come
in to the parlement tyll he had aunswere therof. The whyche
tytle, clayme and pedegre, after diligent inspeccione and wyse dely-
beracione of thaym had, dyscussed and approued, by alle the seyde
parlement; peese, vnyte and concorde betwene the kyng and the
sayde duk Richard, the Fryday in the vygylle of Alhalow was maad,
stablysshed and concluded, as yt appereth plenely, and ys con-
feyned in tharticles here next folowynge :—

[Friday, Oct.
31st.]

Folio 208.

The articles be-
twyxt kyng
Harry and the
duk of York.

“ Blyssed be Jhesu, in Whos handes and bounte restethe and ys
the pease and vnyte betwyxt princees, and the weele of euery reame
yknow, by Whos direccione agreed hit ys, appoynted, and accorded
as folowethe, betwyxt the moste Hyghe and most Myghty Prynce,
Kyng Harry the vjth, kyng of Englonde and of Fraunce and lorde of
Yrelond, on that on party, and the ryghte Hyghe and Myghty Prynce
Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, on that other party, upon cer-
tayne matyers of variaunce meued betwyxt thayme; and in espe-
cyalle, upon the clayme and tytle vn to the corones of Englonde and
of Fraunce, and royalle power, estate, and dygnyte apperteynyng to
the same, and lordshyppe of Yrelond, opened, shewed, and declared
by the sayde duk afore alle the lordes spyrytuelle and temporalle
beyng in thys present parliament: The sayde aggrement, appoynte-
ment and accord, to be auctorysed by the same parlement.

“ Furst, where the sayde Richard duk of York hathe declared and
opened as aboue ys sayde tytle and clayme in the manner as
folowethe :

“ That the ryghte noble and worthy prince Harry kyng of Englonde
the iij^{de} had issew and lawfully gate Edward hys furst begoten sone,
borne at Westmynstre the xv. kalendis of Juylle, in the vygyl of
seynt Marc and Marcelliane, the yere of oure Lorde M^c.cc.xxxix. :
and Edmonde his seconde goten sone whyche was in saynt Marcell

day, the yere of oure Lorde M^l.cc. : The whyche Edward, after the
 dethe of kyng Harry hys fader, entiteled and called kyng Edward the
 furst, had yssew Edward, hys furst begoten sone, entitled and called
 after the desese of the sayde furst Edward, hys fader, kyng Edward the
 secunde : The whiche had yssew and lawfully gate the ryghte noble
 and honorable prince Edward the thryd, trew and vndowted kyng of
 Engeland and of Fraunce and lord of Yrelond : Whyche Edward the
 iij^{de} trew and vndowted kyng of Engeland and of Fraunce and lord of
 Yrelond, had yssew and lawfully gate, Edward hys furst begottenne sone,
 prince of Wales ; Wyllyam of Hatfyeld, secund begottenne ; Leonel,
 thryd begoten, duke of Clarence ; Johan of Gaunt, fourthe begottenne,
 duke of Lancastre ; Edmond Langley, fyfth begoten, duk of York ;
 Thomas Wodstoke, syxthe gottenne, duk of Gloucestre ; and Wyllyam
 Wyndesore, the seuenthe gotten. The sayde Edward, prince of Wales,
 whyche dyed in the lyf of the sayde Edward, kyng, had yssew and
 lawfully gat Richard, the whyche succeeded the same Edward, kyng,
 hys grauntsyre, in royalle dygnyte, entytele and called kyng
 Richard the secund, and deyed withoute yssew. Wyllyam Hatfeld
 the iij^{de} gotten sone of the seyde Edward, kyng, dyed withoute yssew.
 Leonelle, the iij^{de} gotten sone of the sayde Edward, kyng, duke of
 Clarence, had yssew and lawfully * gat Phylippa, his ownely doughtre
 and heyre, whyche by sacrament of matrimony cowpeled vnto Ed-
 mond Mortymer erle of Marche, had yssew and lawfully beere Roger
 Mortymer, erle of Marche, her sone and heyre. Whiche Roger
 erle of Marche had yssew and lawfully begate Edmund erle of
 Marche, Roger Mortymer, Anne and Alianore, whyche Edinund,
 Roger and Alyanore, dyed withoute yssew. And the sayde Anne
 vndre the sacrament of matrimony cowpeled vnto Richard erle of
 Cambrege, the sone of the sayde Edmond Langley, the fyfthe gotten
 sone of the sayde kyng Edward, as yt ys afore specyfyed, had yssew
 and bare lawfully Richard Plantagenet, comonly called duk of York.

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* Some have
 denied this.†

Folio 209.

† By the hand of Stowe.

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The sayde Johan of Gaunt the iiijth gotten sone of the seyde kyng Edward, and the yonger brother of the sayde Leonelle, had yssew and lawfully gat Harry Erle of Derby, whyche incontinent after the tyme that the seyde kyng Richard resygned the coronez of the sayde reames and the sayde lordeshyppe of Yrlond, vnyghtewysly entred vppone the same, then be alyue Edmond Mortymer erle of Marche, sone to Roger Mortymer erle of Marche, sone and heyre of the sayde Phyllyppa, doughter and heyre of the sayde ser Leonelle, the iiij^{de} sone of the sayde kyng Edward the iiij^{de}, to the whyche Edmond the ryghte and title of the seyde corones and lordshyp by lawe and custom belonged. To the whyche Richard duk of York, as sone to Anne, doughter to Roger Mortymer erle of Marche, sone and heyre to the sayde Phyllyppa, doughter and heyre of the sayde Leonelle, the iiij^{de} gotten sone of the sayde kyng Edward the iiij^{de}, the ryghte, tytyle, dygnyte royalle, and estate of the corones of the reames of Englond and Fraunce, and of the lordeshyppe and the londe of Yre-lond, of the ryghte lawe and custume perteyneth and belongethe, afore any yssew of the sayde Johan of Gaunt the iiijth gotten sone of the same kyng Edward.

Folio 209 b.

“The sayde tytyle natwythestandynge, and withoute preiudice of the same, the sayde Richard duk of York, tendrely desyryng the weele, reste and prosperyte of thys lande, and to sette aparte alle that that myghte be a trouble to the same; and considerynge the possessyone of the sayd kyng Harry the vjth, and that he hathe for hys tyme be named, taken and reputed kyng of Engeland and of Fraunce and lorde of Yrlond; ys content, aggred and consenteth that he be had, reputed and taken kyng of Engeland and of Fraunce, with the royalle astate, dignyte and preemynence bylongyng therto, and lorde of Yrlond, duryng hys lyfe naturalle; and for that tyme the sayde duk, withoute hurte or preiudice of hys sayde ryghte and title, shalle take, worship and honoure hym for his souerayne lord.

“Item, The sayde Rychard, duk of York, shalle promyt and bynde hym by hys solemne othe, in maner and forme as foloweth:

"In the name of God, Amenne. I Rychard, duke of York, promytte A.D. 1460.
and swere by the feythe and trowthe that I owe to Almyghty God,
that I shalle neuer do, consent, procure or stere, directly or indi-
rectly, in pryve or appert, neyther, asmoche as in me ys, shalle suffre
to be do, consented, procured or stered, any thyng that may be or
sowne to abrygement of the naturalle lyfe of kyng Harry vjth, or to
hurte or amenusyng of hys regne or dygnyte royalle, by vyolence or
any otherwyse ayens hym (*sic*) fredom or liberte: But yef any persone
or persones wold do or presume any thyng to the contrary, I shalle
with alle my myghte and power withstande hyt, and make yt to be
wythstonde, as fer as my power wylle streche therevnto: so helpe me
God, and His holy Euangelyes.

"Item, Edward erle of Marche and Edmond erle of Rutlond, sones
of the sayde Richard duk of York, shalle make lyke othe.

Folio 210.

"Item, It ys accorded, appoynted, and agreed, that the sayde
Rychard duke of York shalle be called and reputed from hensfoorth
verray and ryghtefulle heyre to the corounes, royalle astate, dygnyte
and lordeshyp abouesayde: And after the decees of the sayde king
Harry, or whenne he wolle laye from hym the sayde corounes,
astate, dignite and lordshyppe, the sayde duke and hys heyres shalle
immediately succede to the sayde corones, royalle astate, dygnyte
and lordshyppe.

"Item, The sayde Richard, duk of York, shalle haue by auctoryte
of thys present parlement, castelles, maners, londes and tenementes,
wyth the wardes, mariages, releues, seruices, fynes, amerciamentes,
offyces, avousons, fees and other appurtenaunces to thaim belongyng
what soeuer they be, to the yerely valew of x. M^l marc., ouer alle
charges and repryses; whereof v. M^l marc. shalle be to his owen
estate; iij. M^l vc. marc. to Edward the furst begoten sone, earle
of Marche, for his astate; and M^l li. to Edmond, erle of Rutlond,
hys secund gotten sone, for his yerly sustentacione, of suche consi-
deraciones and suche entent as shal be declared by the lordes of the
kynges counselle.

A.D. 1460.

"Item, Yef any persone, or persones, ymagyne or compasse the dethe of the sayde duk, and therof prouably be atteynt of open dede doone by folkes of other condicione, that yt be demed and adiuged hyghe tresone.

Folio 210 b.

"Item, For the more estabylysshynge of the sayde accord, it ys appoynted and consented, that the lordes spirituelle and temporalle beyng in thys present parliament, shalle make othys to accept, take, worshyppe and repute, the sayde Richard duk of York, and hys sayde cyres, as aboue ys rehersed, and kepe and obserue and streynghite, in as moche as apparteyneth vn to thaym, alle the thynges abouesayde, and resyste to theyre power alle thaym that wold presume the contrary, accordyng to thayre astates and degrees.

"Item, The sayde Richard duk of York, erles of Marche and Rutland, shalle promyt and make othe to helpe, ayde and defend the sayde lordes and euery of theyme, ayens alle tho that wolde quarelle or any thyng attempt ayenst the sayde lordes, or any of thaym, by occasyone of aggrement or consentyng to the sayde accorde, or assystence yeuyng to the duk and erles or any of thaym.

"Item, Hit ys agreed and appoynted that thys accorde, and euery article therof, be opened and notyfied by the kynges letters patentes, or otherwyse, at suche tymes and places and in manner as hit shal be thoughte expedyent to the sayde Richard duk of York, with thayse of the lordes of the kynges counseyle.

"The kyng vnderstandethe certaynly the sayde tytle of the sayde Richard duk of York, iust, lawfulle and sufficiant, by thayse and assent of the lordes spirituelle and temporalle and communes, in this parliament assembled; and by auctoryte of the same parlement declarethe, approuethe, ratyfethe, confermethe and acceptethe the sayde tytle, iust, good, lawfulle, and trew, and therevnto yeueth his assent and aggrement of his fre wylle and liberte. And ouer that, by the sayde avyce and auctoryte, declarethe, entitlethe, callethe, stabylysshethe, affermethe and reputethe the sayde Richard duk of

York, verray, trew and ryghtefulle heyre to the corones, royalle astate and dygnyte, of the reames of Englund and of Fraunce and of the lordeshyppe of Yrlond aforesayde: and that accordyng to the worship and reuerence that therto belongethe, he be taken, accepted and reputed in worshyppe and reuerence, by alle the states of the sayd reame of Englund, and of alle hys subiectes therof; sauynge and ordeynynge, by the same auctoryte, the kyng to haue the sayde corones, reames, royalle estate, dignyte and preemynence of the same, and the sayde lordshyppe of Yrlond, duryng his lyf naturalle. And furthermore, by the same avyse and auctoryte, wyllle, consentethe and aggregethe that after hys decease, or whan hit shalle please his hyghenesse to ley from hym the seyde corones, estat, dignyte and lordshyp, or therof ceasethe; The seyde Richard duke of York and his heyres shalle immediatly succede hym, in the seyde corones, royalle astate, dignyte and worshyppe, and thaim thanne haue and ioye, any acte of parlement, statute or ordenaunce or other thyng to the contrary maad, or interrupcion or dyscontinuaunce of possessyone natwythstandyng. And moreouer, by the sayde avyse and auctoryte, stablysshethe, grauntethe, confermeth, approuethe, ratyfycethe and acceptethe the seyde accorde, and alle thyng therynne conteyned, and therevnto freely and absolutely assenteth and aggregeth.

And by the same avyse and auctoryte ordeynethe and establysshethe, that yef any persone or persones ymagyne or compasse the dethe of the sayde duk, and prouably be atteynt of open dede done by folkes of that condicions, that it demed and adijuged hygh treason.

And furthermore ordeyneth, puttethe and stablysshethe, by the sayde avyse and auctoryte, that alle statutyss, ordenaunces and actes of parlement, made in the tyme of the sayde kyng Harry the iiijth, by the whiche he and the heyres of his body commyng of Harry late kyng of Englund the vth, the sone and heyre of the sayde kyng Harry the iiijth, and the heyres of the body of the same kyng Harry

A D. 1460.

the vth comyng, were or be enheryttable to the sayde corones and reames, or to the herytage or enherytament of the same, be annulled, repeled, reuoked, dampned, cancelled, voyde, and of no force or effect. And ouer thus, the kyng by the sayde aduyse, assent and auctoryte, wylle, ordeynethe and stablysshethe, that alle other actes and statutes, maade afore thys tyme by auctoryte of parlement, nat repeled or adnulled by lyk auctoryte, or otherwyse voyde, be in suche foorce, effect and vertew as thay were afore the makyng of these ordenaunces, and that no letters patentes royalx of record, nor actys iudycyalle, maade or done afore thys tyme, nat repeled, reuersed ne otherwyse voyde by the lawe, be preiudyced or hurt by thys present acte."

Also it was ordeyned by the sayde parlement, that the sayde Rychard duk of York shold be called Prince of Wales, duke of Cornewayle, and erle of Chestre; and [he] was made also by the sayde parlement protectoure of Englund.

[December.]

Thys same yeere, in the moneth of Decembre, the duk of Somerset and the erle of Deuenshyre went in to the Northcuntre, wythe viij.c. men: and anone after the seyde duk of York, the erle of Rutland hys sone, and the erle of Salesbury, a lytelle before Crystynmas, wyth a fewe personnes went in to the Northe also, for to repressse the malyce of the Northermenne the whyche loued nat the sayd duk of York ne the erle of Salesbury, and were loged at the castelle of Sandale and at Wakefeld.

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Than the lord Nevyle, brother to the erle of Westmorland, vnder a falce colour wente to the sayde duk of York, desyryng a commys-syone of hym for to reyse a peple for to chastyse the rebelles of the cuntre; and the duk it graunted, demyng that he had be trew and on hys parte. When he had his commys-syone he reysed to the nombre of viij. M^l. men, and broute thaym to the lordes of the cuntre; that ys to say, the erle of Northumbrelond, lord Clyfford, and duke of Somerset, that were aduersaryes and enemyes to duke Richarde. And whan they sawe a conuenient tyme for to fyll

theyre cruelle entent, the laste day of Decembre they fyll oponne the sayde duk Rychard, and hym kylde, and hys sone therlle of Rutland, and meny other knyghtes and squyers; that ys to say, the lorde Haryngtone a yong man, Thomas Haryngtone knyght, ser Thomas Nevyle sone to therlle of Salesbury, and ser Harry Ratford knyghte; and of other peple to the nombre of M. M^l.cc. The erle of Salesbury was take alyue, and lad by the sayde duk of Somerset to the castel of Pountfreete, and for a grete summe of money that he shuld haue payed had graunt of hys lyfe. But the commune peple of the cuntre, whyche loued hym nat, tooke hym owte of the castelle by violence and smote of his hed.

A.D. 1460.
[December
31st.]

Whan the dethe of these lordes was knowe, greeete sorow was made for thaym; and anone, by the kynges commaundement, wryttes and commyssiones were sent and direct to the Shyreues and other officers, to reyse peple for to chastyse the peple and the rebelles of the North.* And they of the Northe heryng thys gadred pryuyly a grete peple, and came doune sodeynly to the towne of Dunstaple, robberyng alle the cuntre and peple as they came; and spoylyng abbeyes and howses of relygyone and churches, and bare away chalyces, bookes and other ornaumentes, as thay had be paynems or Sarracenes, and no Crysten membe.

A.D. 1461.
Folio 212 b.

The xij. day of Feuerer, the Thurseday, kyng Harry with his lordes, that ys to say, the duk of Norfolk, and Suffolk, the erles of Warrewyk and of Arundelle, the lorde Bonevyle and other, went oute of Londoun, and came with thayre peple to the toune of Seynt Albons, nat knowyng that the peple of the North was so nyghe. And whanne the kyng herde that they were so nyghe hym, he went oute and took hys felde besyde a lytelle towne called Sandryge, nat fer fro Seynt Albons, in a place called No-mannes land, and there he stooode and sawe his peple slayne on bothe sydes. And at the

[February
12th.]

The secunde
batayl of Seynt
Albons.

* See in Rymer a commission directed to Edward duke of York for this purpose, dated Feb. 12 (vol. xi. p. 471.)

A.D. 1461.

laste, thorow the withdrawyng of the Kentisslmen with thayre capteyne, called Lovelace, that was in the vaunt-warde,—the which Lovelace fauored the Northie party, for as moche as he was take by the Northurnmen at Wakefeld whan the duk of York was slayne, and made to theym an othe for to saue his lyfe, that he wold neuer be agayns theym,—and also be vndysposycion of the peple of the kynges syde, that wold nat be gnyded ne gouerned by theyre capteyns, kyng Harryes part loste the feeld. The lordes that were wyth the kyng seyng thus, withdrowe theym, and went theyre wey.

Folio 213.

Whan the kyng sawe his peple dysparbeled and the feeld broke, he went to his quene Margarete that came wyth the Northurnmen, and hyr sone Edward; for thay of the North sayde that thay came for to restore the kyng to the quene his wyfe, and for to delyuer hym owte of pryson; forasmeeche as seth the batayle of Northampton he had be vnder the rewle and gouernaunce of the erles of Warrewyk and Salesbury, and of other.

The sayde erle of Warrewyk dressed hym toward the erle of Marche, commyng toward London owte of Wales, fro the dyscomfytur of the erles of Penbroke and Wylshyre. The lorde Bonevyle that came wyth kyng Harry wolde haue withdrawe hym, as other lordes ded, and saued hymself fro his enemyes, but the kyng assured hym that he shuld haue no bodyly harme; natheles natwythstandyng that sewrte, at instaunce of the quene, the duk of Exetre, and therlle of Deuonsshyre, by iugement of hym that was called the Prince, a chylde, he was beheded at Seynt Albons, and with hym a worthy knyghte of Kent called ser Thomas Kyryelle. Ser Johan Nevyle, kyng Harryes chamburlayne, brother to the erle of Warrewyk, was take; but sone after he was delyuered. This bataylle was done on Shroftwysday, the yere aboue sayde, the xvij. day of Feuerer, in the whiche were slayne M^c.ix.c.xvj. persones.

[February
17th.]

Whan thys batayle was doon, London dredyng the manas and the malyce of the quene and the duke of Somerset and other, leste they wolde have spoyled the cyte,—for as moche as the quene with her

Folio 213 b.

counselle had graunted and yeue leve to the Northurmen for to spoyle and robbe the sayde cyte, and also the townes of Couentre, Bristow, and Salesbury, wyth the shyrys withynne rehersed, as for payment and recompense of theyre sowde and wages, as the comon noyse was among the peple at that tyme;—then ther was sent vnto the sayde quene owte of the cyte of Londoun the duchesse of Bukynghame, with other wytty men with her, to trete with thaim for to be benyuolent and owe good wylle to the cyte, the whyche was dyuyded withyn hyt self; for some of the worthy and of the Aldremen, dredyng and weyyng the inconueniens and myscheues that myghte folow contrary to the comone wele of the cyte, and for to stonde in sewrte of the cyte both of bodyes and of goodes no robry to be had, graunted and promytted a certayne some of money to the sayde quene and duk of Somerset, and that he shulde come in to the cyte aponne thys appoyntement with a certayne nombre of persones wyth hym. And anon hereaponne certayn speres and men of armes were sent by the sayde duk, for to have entred the cyte before his commyng; whereof some were slayne, and some sore hurte, and the remanent put to flyghte. And anone after, the comones, for the sauacione of the cyte, toke the keyes of the yates were they shulde have entred, and manly kept and defended hit fro theyre enemyes, vnto the commyng of Edward the noble erle of Marche.

Thanne kyng Harry, with Margarete his quene and the Northermen, went and retourned homewarde toward the North ayene: the whyche Northurnemenne as they went homwarde dyd harmes innumerable, takyng mennys cartes, waynes, horses and bestis, and robbed the peple and lad theyre pylage into the North contre, so that men of the shyres that they past by, had almoſte lefte no bestys to tyle theyre londe. Folio 214.

This same tyme the ij bretheryn of the erle of March, George and Richard, were sent to Phylp duk of Burgoyne for saaf garde of theyre persones, the whyche were of the sayde duk notably

AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING THE 18TH AND 19TH YEARS OF RICHARD II.
AND THE PARLIAMENT AT BURY ST. EDMUND'S, 25TH
HENRY VI.

BY RICHARD FOX, MONK OF ST. ALBAN'S.

xviii 3ere. The 3ere of our Lord M^l.ccc.iiij score and xv, and A.D. 1395.
the regne of kyng Rycharde xviii 3ere, he hulde a parlement in
Irelonde, to the wheche parlement come his lyge men of Irelonde,
tho that were of the Englysche Irysche, and the kyng asked of hem
a subsedy, and they graunted to hym.

And in that same tyme, the viij day aftur the xij day, sire Edmund,
duke of 3ork, grauntfader (*sic*) to kyng Rycharde, and leefftenant
of Englonde in the kynges absence, sette a parlement at Londone, to
the wheche parlement come dyners of the Irysche lordes. And the
duke of Gloucetur he expowned before alle men the kynges grete
nede at that tyme in specialle, for moche of his tresour was spente in
his lyyng in Irelonde. And when he hadde purposed to the clergy
for a Dyme, they graunted hym. And then he purposed his mater
aftur the same entent to the Communes for an hole xv peny; they
seyde by protestacyon and condicyon that hat "schalle not bynde vs
by no lawe to graunt only here afturward. But as at this tyme,
forasmoche as we tendre and loue our sovereyne lord the kyng, we
graunte to hym the xv peny." And this was sped on bothe partyes
spirituelle and temperalle.

And in the same 3ere, the kyng beyng in Irelonde, maystur John
Wyceleef, a doctour in devenyte, and in his openyons an certyk,

A.D. 1395.

this seyde mayster John, in the kynges absence, hadde asocyed to hym dyuers lordes, as sire Rycharde Sturry, sire Thomas Latymer, sire Lowys Clyfforde, sire Johan Mowntagu; the wheche setten scrowis on Powlus dore of ther false Lollardie wheche they haad begunne, concludyng by xij chapytours of eresý in destruceyon of the feyth and of the status of holy church, the wheche mevyng and menyng begynneth as thus:—

“Nos pauperes Christi homines et thesauri appostolorumque (*sic*) suorum, denunciamus Dominis, hac (*sic*) Communibus parliamenti, certas conclusiones et veritates pro reformatione ecclesie Anglie, que fuit seca (*sic*) et leprosa multis annis per manutenenciam superbe prelatie, supportate per adulationem privatorum religionum, que multiplicantur ad magnum nocumentum et dolorosum periculum hic in Angliá,” &c.

The firste conclusion that he leyde for hym, for his truthe. He began when the church of Englonde was appered with temperelle godus, and morteysed be apropiacyone.

The secunde conclusion was, that oure prystehode that began in Rome, yfeyned of the power of angelus and archangeles, and hyt is not the same pristehode the wheche Criste ordeyned to his apostelus. And who that lyste to loke and se more of these articules, leet hym loke on Wyccleves bokes.

And here folewyng ben the vers that were sette vpon Powles dores:—

“Plangent Anglorum gentes erimen Sodomorum!
Paulos (*sic*) fert horum sunt ydola causa malorum.
Surgunt ingrati giegite Semoni (*sic*) nati
Nontui (*sic*) prelati hoc defensari (*sic*) parati.
Qui reges estis populus (*sic*) quicunque preestis,
Qualiter his gestis gladiis (*sic*) prohibere potestis?”

Anon as tythynges come to kyng Rycharde into Irelonde, he sweere a grete oth that they scholde be hanged, and alle tho that hulde with hem, without they wolde renounce and forsake theyre openyones.

And then sire Rycharde Sturry herde of the kynges oth, and anon he renounced and forsoke alle tho poyntes and articulis of Lollardy, and therto he was sworn upon a booke, the kyng beyng present. A.D. 1395.

And in that same ȝere, ther was a squyer of Staffordeschyre beryng the kynges levere, the hert of syluer, with a felow of his of Northfolke ycleped John Colby; the wheche too ymagined a patent vnder the kynges grete seele, that the relygious of Essex and of Northfolke, and alle the nonneryes of bothe contreyes, scholde schewe to hem ther wrytynge of ther mortysementes; the wheche seyde squyer and Colby vsed and hade vsed a grete whyle, or they were aspyed, in dyuerse places of the rewme, and gate be tho menes moche goode falsly: but at the laste bothe were taken, and brouȝt to London, but John Colby deyde in pryson, and the squyer aboode the kynges comyng home out of Irelande.

And in this same ȝere, the kyng dede do brynge the body of sir Robert Veer into England, the wheche was erle off Oxford.

And in this same ȝere, there apered in Fraunce a crucifix with his bloody woundes ouer the churche-steple of the towne of Landavencis, the beschope, the clergie, and mony of the comune peple beholdyng theron; and hit apered so the space of halffe an our.

In that same ȝere, a barbour, called a Moret, an hethen lorde, fauȝt aȝeyns the priour of seynt Jhones of Rodes, the wheche pryour hade at his gouernaunce and ledyng but iij. c. off Cristenmen at that tyme; but manly, by Godes helpe, they fouȝt with the Moret, and slowe of the paynemus that come with hym to batayle mo than fyfty M^l. And when the Moret syȝ that he myȝt not prevayle aȝeyne the Cristen at the batayle on the londe, he began an newe warre upon the see: but, be the helpe of God, he was put to the wurse, and withdrowe hym.

And in this same ȝere, the marchantes of Northfolke were robbed of xx. M^l. pownde be the queenes meyne of Denmarke, the wheche was an vndoing to mony of the marchantes of Northfolke for euer-more afturwarde.

A.D. 1396.

xix 3ere. Item, in anno M^l.CCC. nonogesimo vj^o, and in the regne of kyng Rychard the xix 3ere, the pope wroot downe to the kyng a3eyne the lordes, to haue hem proclaimed as traytours to holy church; and that the kyng schold be faverable to the prelates, as beschopes, abbotus, pryours, and to alle the trewe mynystris of the church; and tho cursed Lollardes that wolde not renounce and leue hure false openyones, the kyng to geve hem the lawe as longed to suche mysbeleuers and eretykes. Also alle tho that haad purchased off the pope or of any of his mynystris any fredome, as chappellanes, honoris, or any capasite, the pope annulled hem, bothe of his owne tyme and also of his prodesessous (*sic*), vnto the tyme that he were bettur avysed.

A.D. 1395.

And in this same 3ere, sire John, duke of Lancastre, to whome the kyng had 3eue the Duche of Gyene, for the whechie he spent goode innumerable to gete the goode wyll of the peple of that countrey; and, when the seyde duke stode in gode conseyte of the peple, the kyng sent for hym to come to hym into Englonde. And he come home anon aftur Cristemasse to the maner off Langeley, wher the kyng haad holde his Cristemasse; and he was reseyuwed wurthyly and wyschypeffully by countynaunce outwarde, but ther was but lytylle loue withinne forth, as hit was seyde.

A.D. 1396.

And anon aftur, the duke partyd fro the kyng, and rode to Lyncolle, wher Kateryne Swynfordes abydyng was as at that tyme. And aftur the utas of xij day, the duke wedded the seyde Kateryne; the wheche weddyng caused mony a monnus wonderyng, for, as hit was seyde, he haad holde heere longe before.

And in this same 3ere, the ambassitours of Englonde and Fraunce metten togedere, and spaken for a pees betwene Englonde and Fraunce, be the assent of bothe the kynges: and apoyntement was made that bothe the kynges schulde mete oppon a serteyne grounde bezonde Calyce; and so they dede, and ther were py3t bothe ther tentes ful ryally. But or they come togedere for to trete togedere, ther was an oth taken on bothe partyes, wheche oth sueth here.

folewyng wreten in Lateyne. The fyrste that swere was the kyng A.D. 1396. of Fraunce as thus :—

“Nos Carolus Rex Francie juramus in verbo regali super Evangelia, pro nobis et omnibus nobis subjectis, amicis, et affinitate conjunctis, et benevolentibus, quod non faciemus nec paciemur fieri, per nos nec per supra nominatos, dampnum, inpeticionem, molestiam, arrestacionem, nec disturbacionem, ullo modo per tempus nostre convencionis, nec per octo dies ante convencionem et septem dies sequentes, nostro dicto filio Regi Anglie, nec alicui de suis subjectis, amicis, affinibus, nec benevolis, ante dictum tempus. Et si casu alico, insolencia vel litigia per aliquem de nostris supradictis, quod absit, emergerit (*sic*), nos promittimus verbo regali et per securitatem predictam, quod faciemus hec debite emendari, et sine dilacione reformari. Et juramus ulterius, super securitate predicta, quod si aliquis vel aliqui de quolibetque (*sic*) statu vel condicione extiterint (*sic*), voluerit vel voluerint contraire dicte nostre securitati, nos erimus in auxilium nostri predicti filii, pro nostro posse, ad resistendum malicie malefactorum predictorum, et conservandum nostrum dictum filium et suos, per modum quem nos et nostri scimus, et ad tenendum omnia et prosequendum sine fraude vel malo ingenio; et ad hoc juramus et promittimus sicut supra.”

Idem juramentum edidit Rychardus Rex Anglorum.

And forthwith the xxvj day of the moneth of Octobre suyng, the kyng of Englonde, Rychard the Secounde, roode fro Calyce to the castelle of Gynes warde. And with hym roode the duke of Barrye, the wheche duke was sent frome the Frensche party to Calyce, to receyue the oth of the kyng [of] Englonde, and the surete for the peple of Fraunce.

MP OFF THE PARLEMENT OF BERYE,
ANNO DOMINI M^c.cccc.xlvj^o.

A.D. 1447. Th[e] Parlement of Berye, the regne of kyng Harry the vj. the
[Feb. 10th.] xxv jere. The parlement began the x day of Februarye.

[Feb. 16th.] And omne the xvj day of the same moneth mustered the men of
the same contre on the north syde of Berye on Henow Heth to the
nowmbre of xl. M^l.

And on the morewe they schewed hemself on the south-este party
of the towne off Berye. And there they brak up their waache, and
enerye man went to his owne dwellyng-place, somme xxxⁱⁱ m^lle,
somme xx m^lle, x m^lle, iiij m^lle, somme more, somme lesse, and no
doubte of hit was (*sic*) a fervent coolde weder and a bytynge.

[Feb. 18th.] And on the morewe, that is to seye the xvij day of Februarye
and Schirooffe-Sonedayes Even, come the duke of Gloucetre fro
Lanan; and or he come by halue a m^lle or more mette with hym
sir John Stourtone, treserere of the kynges howse, and sir Thomas
Stanley, cownteroller of the kyngus hows, in message fro the kyng,
was (*sic*), as hit was reportyd by somme of the forseyd dukes
meyne:—"That forasmoche as the forseyde duke of Gloucetre hadde
labered in that feruent coolde wheder, hit was the kynges wyll that
he scholde take the nexte wey to his loggyng, and goo to his mete."
And indede he enterid in at the Southgate about xj on the klokke
affore none. And by estymacyon there come with hym to the
nowmbre of iiij score hors. These forseyd messageres, when they
hadde do the kynges comaundement, toke leue of the duke, and
retournede aȝeyn to the kyng.

And the forseyde duke roode into the horse-market, and toke the
wey on his lyfte hoonde to the Northgate warde, and he enteryd into
a lewde lane. And then the duke asked a pore man that dwelled
in the same lane, "What calle me this lane?" The pore man
answered and seyde, "Forsothe, my lord, hit is called the Dede lane."
And thanne the good duke remembryd hym of an olde prophesye
that he hadde radde mony a day before, and seyde, "As our Lord

wylle, be hit alle;" and rode forth to the North Spytyle to his mete. A.D. 1447. And anon as he hadde eten, come to hym by the kynges comaundement the duke of Bokyngham, the marques of Dorset, the erle of Salysbery, the vycount Bemound, the lorde Sudeley. And the vycount Bemound areste the seyde duke of Glouctre; and by the comaundement of the kyng ther waytyd upon the seyde duke to 3emen of the crowne and a sergeaunt of armes: Barthelemewe Halley and Pulforde, 3emen of the crowne, and Thomas Calbrose, sergeaunt of armes.

And that same aftrenoone, bytwene viij and ix, were areste be the kynges offyceres sir Roger Chambrleyn and sir Harry Wogan knyghtes, Thomas Herbert, Thomas Weryot, John Wogan, Howelle ap Dauith Thomas, and mo other, &c.

And on the Soneday was John Hobergere comaundet to warde ageyns even.

[Feb. 19th.]

And on the Schroff-Tewesday, in the latter ende of ther mete, in the halle, were areste sir Robert Veere, sir John Cheyne, knyghtes; John Bokkelond, counteroller with the seyde duke, Arteys, Thomas Wyld, Rychard Myddyltone, Wallerowne, Bassyngburne, squyers; Rychard Nedam, Jon Swafylde, 3emen; and mo other, to the nowmbre of xxviijⁱⁱ. And these were sent to dyuerse plases to prisone, somme to the Touur of Londone, somme to Wynchester, somme to Notyngham, and somme to North-hamtone, and to other dyuers places, as plesyd the kyng and his councele.

And on the Thorsday next folowyng afre the arestyng of the sey (*sie*) duke of Glouctre, he deyde sone appon iij on the belle at aftrenone, at his owne loggyng, called Seynt Saluatuores, without the Northgate: on whose sowle God haue mercy. Amen.

And on the Fryday next folewyng, the lordes spirituelle and temporelle, also knyghtes of the parlement, and whosoever wolde come, saugh hym dede. And ageyne even he was bowelled and rolled in seryd cloth, and leyde in a cheste of leede, and thenne aboute the leede a cheste of popeler boorde.

And on the Saturday next folewyng by the morewen, he was

[Feb. 25th.]

A.D. 1447. bore to the Greye Freres of Babbewede, with xx torches of his owne meynye; saue the too ȝemen of the crowne and the sergeaunt of armes, ther were no mo strangeres that went with hym.

[Feb. 26th.] And on the Soneday folewyng at afternone, the abbot of Seynt Albones dede his Dirige.

[Feb. 27, 28.] And on the Moneday his Masse. And on the Tewesday they bruzt hym to the Newemarket, and bood there al nyzt. And on the

[March 1, 2.] Wendesday at nyzt they laye at Berkewey. And on the Thorsday

[March 3, 4.] they lay at Ware. And on the Fryday they come to Seynt Albones, and there was done his Dyrge, and on the morewe his Masse, and thanne put into a feyre vout wheche was made for hym by his lyffe, and so closed and mured vp: on whose sowle God haue mercy, and on alle Cristen sowles. Amen.

Ther come with his body to Seynt Albones, too of his owne chapeleyne, mayster Roger Burgh and sir Raaffe Bewforde, pristes, the too ȝemen of the crowne, and the sergeaunt of armes. Ther came with hym his treserere Gerveyse of Clyftone, Jan de Puis, eusscher of the chambre, his coffèrer Thomas Bernarde, George Lampot, Thomas Asschelle, Rychard Nedam of Douer, John Herburour, John Acastre, and iiij hensemen, and but fewe mo of squyers. Ther come with hym ȝemen of chambre, Rychard Nylder, John Doore, Rychard Boltone, John South, Grene, Lane, and moo other; John of the Halles, Portars (*sic*), and the Cookes.

These were tho that were dampned.

Sir Rorgger (*sic*) Chambleyne, Arteys, Rychard Myddiltone, Thomas Herbert, Rychard Nedam: these were jugid to be drawn and hanged, and so they were. But the kyng dede hem grace, or they weren dede; for he sent hem hure charturs of pardone, the wheche sauyd hure lyffuus (*sic*). And alle the other that were araste, bothe gentyllemen and ȝemen, the kyng dede hem grace: relested hem of ther prisonment, and fore the more part were restored to ther goodes.

And thus endet Vmffrey the duke of Gloucetre.

SUPPLEMENTARY ADDITIONS

FROM THE CONTINUATION OF THE EULOGIUM:

COTTON MS. GALBA E. VII.

I.

[See Page 2, line 17, &c.]

Sed Abbas nec adquiescere nec comparere volebat, asserens eccle- A.D. 1378.
siam suam dedicatam fore per beatum Petrum miraculosè, et alterius Folio 192.
dedicatione non indigere; ostendans chronicam dedicationis, ut
sequitur:—

Tempore quo Rex Æthelbertus qui regnavit in Cantiâ, prædicante A.D. 605.
beato Augustino, fidei sacramenta susceperat, nepos quoque ejus
Sebertus, qui orientalibus Anglis præfuit, fidem, eodem episcopo
evangelizante, suscepit. Hic Londoniis, quæ regni sui Metropolis
habebatur, intra muros ecclesiam in honorem Pauli beatissimi con-
struens, episcopali eam sede voluit esse sublimem: cui sanctus
Mellitus, quem beatus papa Gregorius cum pluribus aliis in adjuto-
rium miserat Augustino, merito simul et honore pontificali prius
omnium præfuit. Volens autem rex utrique apostolo se gratum
præstare, in occidentali parte ejusdem civitatis extra muros, in honore
beati Petri, monasterium insigne fundavit; multis illud donariis or-
nans et ditans possessionibus. Venerat autem tempus, quo ecclesia
fuerat in eo dedicanda; paratisque omnibus pro loco et tempore pro
monasterii dignitate, agente episcopo eâ nocte in tentoriis, dies
crastina præstolabatur. Magna plebis expectatio, quæ adhuc rudis
in fide, his solenniis interesse non solum pro devotione sed etiam pro

A.D. 605.

Col. b.

admiratione gaudebat. Eâdem nocte, piscatori cuidam in Thamasis fluvii, qui eidem monasterio subfluit, ulteriori ripâ, in habitu peregrini beatus Petrus apparens, promissâ mercede, transponi se ab eodem et petiit et præmeruit. Egressus autem a naviculâ, ecclesiam, piscatore cernente, ingreditur; et, ecce, subito lux cœlestis emicuit, miroque splendore collustrans omnia, noctem convertit in diem. Aduit enim cum apostolo multitudo civium supernorum egredientium et ingredientium, et, choris hymnidicis præcuntibus, melodia cœlestis insonuit. Omnia plena lumine, omnia referta dulcedine. Aures vōcis angelicæ mulcebat jocunditas: nares indicibilis odoris fragrantia perfundebat: oculos lux ætherea illustrabat. Videbantur quasi mixta terrena cœlestibus, humana conjuncta divinis, et, quasi in scalâ Jacob, angeli descendentes et ascendentes in illis sacris solenniis videbantur. Paratisque omnibus quæ ad ecclesiæ dedicationem spectant solenniis, redit ad piscium piscatorem piscator egregius hominum; quem, cum divini luminis fulgore perterritum, alienatum pœne sensibus, reperisset, blandâ consolatione reddidit hominem propriæ rationi. Ingredientes ambo cymbam simul uterque piscator, inter loquendum apostolus hominem iisdem quibus se quondam magister suus conveniens verbis, “Nunquid,” ait, “pulmentarium non habes?” Et ille “Tum,” inquit, “inconsueta lucis perfusione stupidus, tum expectatione tui detentus, nihil cepi; sed promissam a te mercedem securus expectavi.” Ad hæc apostolus, “Laxa nunc,” inquit, “retia in capturam.” Paruit imperanti piscator, et mox implevit rete piscium maxima multitudo; quibus ad ripam extractis, “Hunc,” inquit apostolus, “qui cæteris magnitudine et pretio præcellit, Mellito episcopo, meâ ex parte, piscem defer. Pro nauticâ vero mercede, cætera tibi tolle. Ego sum Petrus qui tecum loquor, qui cum meis concivibus, constructam in meo nomine basilicam dedicavi, episcopalemque benedictionem meâ sanctificationis auctoritate præveni. Dic ergo pontifici quæ tu vidisti et audisti; tuo quoque sermoni signa parietibus impressa testimonium perhibebunt. Superseat igitur dedicationi; suppleat quod omisimus, Dominici videlicet

Folio 192 b.

Corporis et Sanguinis sacrosancta mysteria, populumque erudiens A.D. 605. sermone et benedictione confirmans, notificet omnibus hunc me locum crebè visitaturum, hic me fidelium votis et precibus adfuturum." Et, his dictis, clavicularius cœlestis disparuit. Et jam nocturnis tenebris finem dedit aurora, cùm beato Mellito, ad futuræ dedicationis celebranda mysteria processuro, cum pisee piscator occurrit; quem, cùm episcopo tradidisset omnia ei quæ ab apostolo fuerant mandata, prosequitur. Stupet pontifex, reseratisque basilicæ sacræ valvis, videt pavementum utriusque alphabeti inscriptione signatum; parietem bis senis in locis sanctificationis oleo linitum; tot cereorum reliquias duodenis crucibus inhærere; et quasi recenti aspersione adhuc cuncta madescere. Refert hæc episcopus populo, et mox una vox omnium pulsat cœlos laudantium et Deum benedicientium toto corde.

II.

[See Page 3, line 5.]

Hoc anno (1382) Rex Annam sororem Imperatoris, regis scilicet A.D. 1382. Bohemiæ, solutis pro eâ xxij. M^l. marcis, sine consensu regni des- Folio 194 b,
ponsavit. Oblata sibi filia fuit comitis Flandriæ, quam si habuisset, col. b.
jure suo postea Flandriam habuisset. Dux autem Burgundiæ ipsam [Jan. 14th.]
duxit, qui nunc comitatum habet.

III.

[See Page 4, line 13.]

Qui quidem comes modico tempore post in Hiberniâ interemptus A.D. 1398. Folio 196.
fuit.

Comes Arundellæ omnes naves regis Franciæ [et]* alias præ- A.D. 1387.
paratas in Angliam, de Rupellâ revertentes bonis vinis oneratas, cepit; Col. b.
et, hominibus occisis, duxit in Angliam ad portum de Winchelse.

* "Die Dominicâ, in vigiliâ Annunciationis Dominicæ, magna classis navium Flandriæ, Galliæ, et Hispaniæ conspicitur." (Walsingham.)

A.D. 1387. Anno Domini 1387^o Rex in castro de Nottinghamiâ 25^o die
 [Aug. 25th.] mensis Augusti, convocatis capitalibus justiciariis et uno serviente
 ad legem, proposuit has quæstiones, quæ sequuntur; præcipiens eis
 firmiter in fide et ligentia suâ, quod fideliter secundum leges Angli-
 cas ad eas responderent.

[Here follow the questions proposed to the Justices, with their answers, as they are to be
 found in Knyghton, col. 2694-6. Rot. Parl. III. 233, 357-8. Stat. Realm, II. 102-4.

Evesham, 86-89. Immediately following the signatures of the Justices and of the
 Witnesses, the MS. proceeds] :—

Folio 196 b,
 col. b.

Isti autem justiciarii fuerunt de consilio dominorum in parlamento
 præterito: et unus eorum postquam recesserat de castro dixit, “ Jam
 meruimus cordas quibus suspendamur, quia timore mortis hæc dicta
 fuerunt et non de veritate.”

Rex misit pro duce Gloucestræ, comitibus Arundellæ et Warwici,
 ponens insidias in viis ad capiendum eos: ipsi vero, his per amicos
 auditis, cum forti comitiva in sylva de Haryngay juxta Londonias
 convenerunt.

[Sunday, Nov.
 10th.]

Rex de consilio unius burgensis Londoniensis (*Page 4, Fragment
 B.*) venit ad Wesmonasterium, sperans auxilio Londoniensium ipsos
 debellare.

[Sunday Nov.
 17th.]

Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis supplicabat regi quod placeret sibi
 eos admittere ad præsentiam suam sine nocumento, et cum eis de
 pace tractare. Et, accepto juramento a rege, ivit et adduxit eos
 coram rege sedente in magnâ aulâ: exercitus eorum foris erat. Et
 ait rex, “ Quâ temeritate audetis vos insurgere, et contra pacem regni
 mei vos armare?” Respondit dux Gloucestræ, “ Nos non insurgimus
 neque nos armamus nos contra pacem regni, sed ad tuitionem vitæ
 contra inimicos nostros et regni, in quo casu quilibet homo potest
 arma portare. Petimusque et vos requirimus, quod fiat parlamentum
 statim post Purificationem Beatæ Virginis, et in judicio parlamenti

[Feb. 3rd.]*

* The Purification was Feb. 2nd. The “Merciless Parliament” met on the day
 following.

nos ponemus nos; et custodiat inimicos nostros, vestros adulatores, A.D. 1387. faciatisque ibidem esse presentes." Et ait rex, "Parliamentum habebis, et eis non nocebis, et te faciam ita infimum sicut minimum garcionem coquinae tuæ." Tum dux, "Non me inferiorem facietis quam filium regis;" et genuflectens se dixit, "Filius sum regis."

Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis supplicabat regi quod admitteret eos in crastino in eodem loco, et reformationi consentiret; concessitque rex. (*Page 4, Fragment B. b.*) Sed in crastino mutans propositum transivit ad Turrin.

In crastino verò domini venerunt cum exercitu suo in campum [Dec. 26th.]* sancti Johannis, et miserunt pro majore Londoniensi, qui duxit eos Folio 197. ad aulam communem civitatis, et amicitiam civitatis susceperunt. Rex verò misit pro eis ut loquerentur cum eo in Turri. Qui respondentes dixerunt, locum non esse tutum, sed extra Turrin cum eo loqui parati fuerunt. Rex jussit majorem venire, cui mandavit armare civitatem. "Absit, domine," dixit major; "ligii et fideles vestri sunt et amici regni." Rex cum eiecit, et misit ducem Hiberniæ cum literis suis patentibus et vexillo suo, ut Cestrenses et cæteros occidentales adduceret. Et domini, adjunctis sibi comite de Derby filio ducis Lancastriæ, comite de Nottingham mareschallo, et adaucto exercitu, transeundo obviaverunt duci venienti cum vexillo regis expanso prope Oxoniam. Quidam miles prudens exiit de exercitu ducis Hiberniæ, ut videret qui essent; et reversus dixit duci, "Hic sunt constabularius et mareschallus Angliæ, et præcipui domini regni; quomodo habuistis literas veras?" Cui ait dux, "Nonne vultis pugnare contra eos?" Respondit miles, "Absit." Et dux urgebat equum ultra Thamisiam cum suo confessore de ordine Minorum, magistro in theologiâ, et fugit. Cestrenses, scissis chordis arcuum,

* There is a confusion in the history here—see note *Page 4, last line*. The occasion of this second assembly of forces on the part of the Lords was the discovery of the King's treachery in having secretly sent Robert de Vere to collect troops in Cheshire. His defeat at Radcote Bridge was on Dec. 20th.

A.D. 1387.

et cum arcubus suis verberati turpiter, redierunt. Militem quoque principalem, ducis Hiberniæ consiliarium, decollabant; et tulerunt ab eis vexillum regis et ipsum volventes plicabant. Dux autem Hiberniæ festinavit in insulam de Shipaye, et inde ad Alemaniam fugit; et Michaelis de la Pole similiter evasit; item, Alexander Nevyle Archiepiscopus Eborum ad partes ivit transmarinas; et nunquam reversi sunt.

Et prædicti quinque domini, videlicet, dux Gloucestriæ, Ricardus comes Arundellia, Ricardus comes Warwici, Henricus Bolyngbrok cōmes Darbeia, et Thomas Mowbray comes Notinghamiæ, in destructionem prædictorum rebellium et aliorum cum eis venientium apud Radcolbrigge, ceperunt et interfecerunt multos et quasi omnes, exceptis fugientibus.

Col. b.

[Feb. 3rd.]

Et tunc prædicti quinque domini statuerunt parliamentum apud Westmonasterium, ubi Robertus Tresilian justiciarius, Nicholas Brembre miles, civis Londoniensis, et alii plures morti adjudicantur, et ob prædicationem eis impositam, tracti et suspensi sunt. Et in eodem parlamento, Symon de Berle valens miles de garterio, et Johannes Beauchamp miles, seneschallus hospitii regis, Jacobus Berniers miles, et alii, capti fuerunt, et apud Turrin Londoniensem decollati.

IV.

[See Page 6, line 18.]

Folio 197 b.

— ossa sua fuerunt combusta. Eodem anno Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis in convocatione cleri Londoniis statuit, nullos sacerdotes debere prædicare nisi fuerunt per diocesanos admissi.

A.D. 1388.

Anno Domini 1388, Robertus Knollis ædificavit et construi fecit pontem Rofensem.

Hoc anno juvenus et hæredes nobilium Angliæ perierunt in Hispaniâ, et rex Hispaniæ statuit cum duce (Lancastriæ) præliari;

dux autem transivit in Portugaliā, et tradidit filiam suam in matri- A.D. 1338.
monio* regi Portugaliæ, divulgavitque per Hispaniam (see *page 6*,
line 31) quod ipse misisset in Angliam pro alio exercitu: rex His-
paniæ hoc credens, quibusdam intervenientibus, pro certâ summâ
pecuniæ composuit cum duce; qui statim post rediit in Angliam. [Dec. 1339.]

Anno Domini 1389, in parlamento tento† Londoniis rex retraxit A.D. 1390.
quædam privilegia Londoniensium; et ut mercatores extrinseci pos-
sent dividere merces suas, et par partes vendere in civitate, concessit.

Post hoc, rex misit Londoniensibus ut aurum sibi accommodarent; A.D. 1392.
et ipsi se excusabant dicentes se non esse aliis mercatoribus poten-
tiores.

Tunc rex vocavit ad Wodstok majorem Londoniensem, viceco-
mites, et alios civitatis rectores, qui coram justiciariis statuti sunt.
Quibus sic ait, "In civitate Londoniensi, pistores in x. quarteriis
frumenti vis. vii*id.* excessivè lucrantur; similiter brasiatores in x.
quarteriis hordei, vis. vii*id.* excessivè lucrantur; et sic carnifices in
x. bobus. Si major et vicecomites ista negassent, duodena misero-
rum ipsa affirmassent; ideo secundum consilium eis datum, po-
suerunt se in gratiâ regis." Et justiciarius dixit, "Juxta statuta
regni, non solum in civitate vestrâ, sed in aliis, rex aufert a vobis
regimen civitatis pro vestro malo regimine." Posuitque tunc rex in
civitate novos officarios suos. Postea Londonienses magnam sum-
mam auri colligunt, ita quod quidam propter illam collectam fugerunt
de civitate. Et regem venientem cum maximâ solemnitate, tan-
quam angelum Dei, susceperunt, tradideruntque sibi claves civitatis, et
in auro xl. M*l.* li. ei obtulerunt: et sic regimen civitatis receperunt.

Hoc anno Urbanus Papa moritur, et Bonifacius eligitur.

Anno Domini 1390, Bonifacius vocavit Archiepiscopum Eborum A.D. 1389.
ad cardinalatum, et omnes ditiores episcopos Angliæ transferre A.D. 1393.

Col. b.

* See note to *page 6*, *line 32*.

† This parliament met at Westminster, January 17th, 13 Ric. II. 1390, and was dis-
solved March 2nd. (Rot. Parl.)

- A.D. 1393. nitebatur, ut primos fructus suarum ecclesiarum perciperet. Summæ sacerdotum Romam peregrinantium pro beneficiis acquirendis, in portu Doveriæ, et summæ pecuniæ traditæ per escambium mercatorum, ad parliamentum Wintoniæ,* deferuntur. Et ibi statutum fuit firmiter tenendum, quod papa non sinatur transferre episcopos, neque extra regnum, neque infra, sine assensu regis. Et quod nullus amodò capiat beneficium a papâ, sed ecclesiastici patroni conferant sua beneficia juxta intentionem laicorum, qui jus patronatus eis contulerunt; et super hoc omnes promiserunt regi assistentiam, sicut pro coronâ.
- A.D. 1390. Hoc anno fuit in Angliâ magna pestilentia, quam quintam pestilentiam vocabant.
- Anno Domini 1391° nihil hic scribitur, quod regnum Angliæ fuit in malo statu.
- A.D. 1392. Anno Domini M° ccc° nonagesimo secundo, Rex splendidè paravit capitulum fratrum minorum apud Sarum, et comedit cum eis ibidem in refectorio, habens secum reginam Annam, episcopos et alios dominos, in festo Assumptionis Beatæ Mariæ: et ibidem utebatur regalibus et coronâ.
- Quod autem actum est in regno annis Domini 1393° et 1394° non scribitur propter varietatem regni Angliæ.
- A.D. 1392. Anno Domini 1395° dux Lancastriæ de mandato regis transiit in Franciam, et tractavit de pace cum rege Franciæ Ambianis: et rex fecit omnes expensas, et dedit sibi et cuilibet de suâ familiâ magna donaria.
- [March.]
- A.D. 1393. Anno Domini 1396° factum est parliamentum Londoniis,† ad

* This Parliament at Winchester was in 16 Ric. II. 1393. It commenced "Lundy en les oepaves de Seint Hiller, (Jan. 20,) l'an du regne nostre Seigneur le Roi sezisme," and terminated "Lundy le disme jour de Feverer." (Rot. Parl.)

† This again must mean the Parliament at Winchester, 16 Ric. II., 1393. From Froissart we learn that the conditions of peace were something of this kind, but they are not extant on the Rolls of Parliament.

quod rediens dux Lancastriæ, formam pacis in tractatu habitam expressit; videlicet, quod rex Ricardus Angliæ, arma Franciæ, Calesiam, et omnia conquesta per Edwardum, dimitteret; et omnia quæ Edwardi erant ante vendicationes regni Franciæ, cum residuo redemptionis Johannis regis Franciæ, possideret. Et dixit, quod, "arma Franciæ portare (see page 7, *Fragment D.*) non prodest, et Calesia plus nocet regno Angliæ in expensis quam prodest." Sed dux Gloucestriæ, comites Arundellie et Warwici omnia contradixerunt.

In hoc parlamento* dux Lancastriæ petiit quod filius suus Henricus judicaretur hæres regni Angliæ: cui contradixit comes Marchiæ, asserens se descendisse a domino Leonello secundo filio Edwardi regis. E contrario, dux dicebat quod rex Henricus tertius habuit (filios) duos, Edmundum seniore et primogenitum, et Edwardum; qui tamen Edmundus dorsum habuit fractum, et propter hoc judicavit seipsum indignum esse ad coronam. Quare pater eorum eos sic componere fecit, quod Edwardus regnaret et post eum hæredes Edmundi: et dedit Edmundo comitatum Lancastriæ, et ab eo descendit Henricus filius ejus, jure matris quæ fuit filia dicti Edmundi. Cui respondit comes dicens hoc non esse verum, sed Edwardus fuit primogenitus, et Edmundus vir elegantissimus erat, et nobilis miles, prout in chronicis patenter continetur. Rex autem imposuit eis silentium.

Item in hoc parlamento dux Lancastriæ petiit regem dare sibi ducatum Aquitanie sub certâ annuâ pensione, et ipse pro posse totum acquireret; sicut rex Franciæ dedit illum cuidam militi sub eâdem conditione. Sed dux Gloucestriæ, comites Arundellie et

* It is not unlikely that the following events occurred in this parliament. The dukedom of Guienne had been conferred upon Lancaster, March 2, 1390 (Rymer, vii. 659); but in the July (1392) preceeding this Parliament, ambassadors had arrived to remonstrate with the king on the appointuient. Some assertion of his rights on the part of Lancaster may have been distorted in this way.

- A.D. 1393. Warwici, omnino contradixerunt, dicentes pertinentia ad coronam satis esse pauca. Rex tamen concessit.
- A.D. 1394. Hoc anno, Hibernici veri Anglici auxilium contra puros Hibernicos petierunt. Quibus rex dixit, se velle Hiberniam adire; et ideo exegit decimam cleri, et quintam decimam laicorum, ut in parlamento solebat; statuens quod omnes nativi de Hiberniâ in Hiberniam remearent, dicens, "paucos Hibernicos esse ibidem, quare dicti puri Hibernici praevalent ibidem." Dotati vero Hibernici in Angliâ, et ecclesiastici promoti, dato auro, ab hoc statuto sunt
- [August.] exempti. Et rex cum exercitu transivit in Hiberniam, ubi agente quodam fratre de ordine prædicatorum, fuit ipse in periculo adversariorum; sed frater captus missus est ad turrim Londoniensem, qui postea ad preces Provincialis, carceri sui ordinis est liberatus.
- [Sept. 29th.*] Hoc autem anno, dux Lancastriæ transivit in Aquitaniam, ut ducatum sibi acquireret: sed Burdegalia et aliæ civitates ipsum excluserunt, dicentes quod a tempore secundi Henrici, qui jure suæ uxoris illum ducatum possedit, semper iste ducatus tenuit de rege Angliæ, et "si Rex Angliæ nos noluit habere, tenebimus de nosmet ipsis."
- [September.†] Hoc anno Makamor et quidam alii principales purorum Hibernicorum capti fuerunt, quos rex duxit in Angliam, et honorificè satis tractavit.
- Col. b. A.D. 1395. [May.] Dux vero Lancastriæ spe frustratus rediit. Hoc etiam anno, moritur Domina Anna regina Angliæ in manerio de Shene, et apud Westmonasterium sepelitur, quod factum fuit anno
- [December.] xviii^o regni regis Ricardi. Quâ quidem reginâ mortuâ, rex obtulit regi Franciæ treugas 30 annorum, petens filiam suam in uxorem.‡
- [June 7th, 1394.]
- [Monday, August 3rd.]
- A.D. 1396.

* Or immediately after. (Rymer, vii. 790.) † After the 13th. (Rymer, vii. 789.)

‡ The first document in Rymer relative to Richard's marriage with Isabella of Valois, is dated July 8, 1395. The 30 years' truce was ratified by the King of France, March 11, 1396 (Rymer, vii. 832), and finally sworn to by both kings about the end of October.

Hoc anno Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis moritur, et Thomas de A.D. 1396. Arundelliâ a monachis Cantuariensibus postulatur. Et rex, vocato [July 31.] duce Lancastriæ, et multis comitibus et nobilibus, installationi suæ solemniter adfuit, æstimans quod frater suus venisset ad solemnitatem; quem, de facto, ibidem cepisset si venisset.

Anno Domini 1397º, et anno regni regis Ricardi vicesimo, rex A.D. 1396. transivit ad Calesiam et cum rege Franciæ extra Calesiam loquebatur, [Sept. 27th.] et desponsavit filiam suam in Calesiâ cum magnâ gloriâ et pompâ, [Oct. 27, 28.] in ecclesiâ sancti Nicholai ibidem; Isabellam nomine, tunc novem [Tuesday, Nov. 1st.] annorum existentem; quam solemniter et in magnis expensis duxit [Nov. 4th] in Angliam, quæ fuit citò post coronata apud Westmonasterium. A.D. 1397. [Jan. 7th.]

Et post adventum suum in Angliam vocavit Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, rogans eum ut adduceret ad se comitem Arundellie fratrem suum. Cui Archiepiscopus dixit, "Facietis sibi malum si venerit?" Cui rex hoc negans assecuravit eum, jurando sibi super corpus Christi statim post missam Archiepiscopi. Archiepiscopus autem, cum magnâ instantiâ, fratrem suum timentem duxit ad præsentiam regis apud Westmonasterium. Quo viso, dixit rex comiti de Notynghamie, "Curam habeas de comite isto Arundellie;" et statim transiit in cameram. Comes vero de Notynghamie duxit comitem Arundellie in aliam cameram, et clausit ostium. Archiepiscopus autem expectavit usque ad vesperam (*see page 8, Fragment E.*), et tristis rediit ad domum suam apud Lambhithe.

In crastino rex tradidit comitem cuidam inimico suo, ut in castro de Wight ipsum custodiret, et statim bona sua confiscantur.

Comitem vero Warwici cepit in curiâ suâ, quem misit in Turrin. [July 10th.]

Et statim cum turbâ magnâ transiit ad mansionem ducis Gloucestriæ, in Essex, vocatam Plasshe. Quo capto, dixit sibi rex, "Tu non vis ad me venire pro aliquo nuncio, ego igitur ad te venio, et te arresto" Cui ait dux, "Gratiosè agatis mecum salvando vitam Folia 198 b. meam." Cui rex, "Illam gratiam habebis quam præstitisti Symoni

A.D. 1397. de Burley, cū regina pro eo coram te genuflecteret: legas ista,"—tradens sibi schedulam accusationis suæ. Et cum dux legisset, "Ad ista respondebimus." Et rex commisit eum comiti de Notingham, capiteano Calesiæ, ut in castro ibidem ipsum custodiret.

Et postea transiit in partes occidentales Angliæ et collegit exercitum, vocavitque Gallos in auxilium: qui cum lanceis elevatis (*see page 8, Fragment E. b.*) venerunt per medium regni. Misitque ad singulos episcopos, abbates et generosos atque mercatores, et sub colore mutui auri ipsorum nunquam persolvendi, extorsit in tantâ quantitate quod unus simplex generosus solvit xl. li.

[August 5th.] Ibi autem processerunt comites Rutlandiæ, Cantia, Huntingdoniæ, Sarum, Nottinghamiæ, Marchio Dubliniæ, et alii appellantes ducem Gloucestriæ, comites Arundelliæ et Warwici de criminibus læsæ majestatis perpetratis anno regni regis x^o et xj^o.

[Wednesday, Sept. 5th*] Et rex misit unum justiciarium ad ducem Gloucestriæ, ut ab eo quæreret quomodo ad appellationes responderet. Et dux manu

[Sept. 8th.] propriâ scribendo in Anglico respondebat, literam sigillabat, et regi mittebat. Justiciarius prudenter ita literam regi tradidit, quod

[Sunday, Sept. 16th.] habuit penes se copiam sigillo regis consignatam. Cumque responsio ducis regi non placeret, mandavit sub pænâ mortis comiti de Nottinghamiâ quod ipsum occideret. Et ipse transiit ad Calesiam, et ibidem famuli comitis cum lecto plumali super ducem posito, ipsum viliter suffocabant, occultè divulgantes ipsum morte naturali obiisse.

[Sept. 17th.] Deinde post exaltationem sanctæ crucis venit ad parliamentum rex equitans terribiliter per medium Londoniarum cum Mⁱ armatorum, quorum tamen multi ficti erant; et tenuit parliamentum cum

* A commission had been issued to Sir William Rickhill for examining the Duke of Gloucester, on August 17th, (Rymer, viii. 13. Rot. Parl. iii. 373.) At midnight, September 5th, he was ordered by a royal messenger to join the Earl Marshal at Dover the following evening and accompany him to Calais, where a special commission was handed to him. The Duke's written answer was returned on the Saturday. (Rot. Parl. iii. 430-432.)

confederatis suis in magno tentorio (*see page 9, Fragment F.*) quod A.D. 1397. in pavimento Westmonasterii statuerat. Et ne episcopi, abbates et clerici intermitterent se in parlamento, fecit eos et clerum compromittere vices suas in dominum Thomam Percy militem, seneschallum sui hospitii. Et in hoc parlamento non secundum legem Angliæ sed secundum jura civilia processerunt. Nec regis periti Angliæ se ibi intromittebant.

Et primò rex ad supplicationem et petitionem sui parlamenti revocavit commissionem ab [co] factam anno xº; et statuit quod si quis talem commissionem procuraverit, sit ut proditor puniendus.

V.

Page 10, line 2.

Deinde adduxerunt comitem Arundellie, et dux Lancastriæ fuit A.D. 1397. justiciarius ibidem, qui sibi exposuit appellationem dominorum et accusationem parlamenti, et jussit respondere. Qui dixit, "Res- ^{Folio 193, col. b.}pondere non expedit, quia scio quod ordinastis mortem meam propter bona mea." Et notificaverunt sibi pœnam tacentis; et dixit dux, "Quia parlamentum te accusavit, meruisti decapitari sine responsione secundum legem tuam." Cui comes respondens dixit, "Ista feci propter circumstantias quæ tunc erant; et si errores fuerunt habeo indulgentiam regis." ^[Sept. 21st.]

VI.

[Page 11, line 10.]

Similiter dux Gloucestriæ adjudicatus fuit exhæredationi con- ^{Folio 199.} simili, et post mortem; quia, ut dixerunt, facta ejus ita notoria ^[Sept. 24th.] fuerant, et veniens responderat per scripturam.

Cernens et rex quod ipsi ejecerunt Archiepiscopum Eborum, et

A.D. 1397. quod pacem non haberet cum Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, fecit
 [Sept. 20th.*] parliamentum accusare Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum. Et cum
 incepisset prolocutor proponere contra Archiepiscopum dixit rex,
 "Non proponas contra cognatum meum. Recede frater securus."

VII.

[Page 11, line 26.]

Folio 199. Archiepiscopus dixit se recedere nolle, hic se fuisse natum, et hic
 se velle mori. Rex cum duce Lancastrie intravit ad eum in
 cameram, cum aliis comitibus, in qua testis sedebat. Et dixit sibi
 rex, "Ne tristeris, nec recedere recuses, quia te assecuro quod post
 breve tempus revocaberis, et nullus erit Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis
 nisi tu, quamdiu nos duo vixerimus." Cui dixit Archiepiscopus,
 "Ante recessum meum aliqua vobis dicam:" et protraxit sermonem
 de luxuria qua regnabatur in personis eorum, et in curiis avaritia
 atque superbia, quibus inficiunt totum regnum. Et in die sibi
 assignata in vigilia sancti Michaelis in portu Doverie recessit.

VIII.

[Page 12, line 1.]

Folio 199, Eodem anno rex scripsit a[d] papam, ut quendam laicum litera-
 col. b. tum Rogerum Walden in Archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem pro-
 moveret; asserens, ut quidam dicebant, Thomam esse mortuum.

A.D. 1398. Fecitque parliamentum hoc compromittere in xij personas, qua
 continuando parliamentum ubicumque et quocumque regi placeret
 A.D. 1398. statuta sibi placita secum ordinarent.
 [Jan. 31st.]

Quibus omnibus peractis, in partes occidentales est reversus.

* The Commons prayed for judgment against the Archbishop on this day, but sentence
 was not given till the 25th. (Rot. Parl. iii. 351.)

Nuncius festinanter rediens de curiâ Romanâ portavit bullas: et A.D. 1398. rex fecit Rogerum consecrari. Et cito post, idem Rogerus celebravit ingressum suum Cantuariæ sumptuosè. Et post hæc, rex in diebus solemnibus, &c.

IX.

[Page 18, at the end of Richard II.]

Rex Ricardus in divitiis suis prædecessores suos studuit excedere, A.D. 1399. et ad Solomonis gloriam pervenire. Cæpitque plus illis infra ^{Folio 200 b.} regnum post annum xj^{um} formidari, quodvis prole careret et animo bellicoso. In thesauris et jocalibus, in vestibis et ornamentis regalibus in quibus vehementer excessit, in splendore mensæ, in palatiis quæ ædificavit, nullus in regibus eo gloriosior diebus suis. Et in maximâ altitudine suæ gloriæ, subito appensus et inventus minus habens deponitur potens de sede; et statua percussa miserabiliter est contrita; arborque procera in medio terræ omnibus opulentiis privata, Vigili jubente Cœlesti, succiditur; et in carcere proprio, videlicet, Pontis Fracti, fit habitatio ejus.

X.

[Page 20, line 5.]

Rex tenuit Natale Domini apud Windesorium, et quidam A.D. 1400. armiger de Circestriâ, in armis multum exercitatus, secundum ^{Folio 200 b.} consuetudinem suam misit unum de suâ familiâ ad curiam regis, ut sibi referret gesta forciâ hastiludensium. Archiepiscopus autem Cantuariensis post Circumcisionem Domini movit a Cantuariâ usque Windesorium, ut esset cum rege in die Epiphaniæ. Quidam de familiâ regis interea jacebat unâ nocte, &c.

XI.

[Page 21, line 24.]

A.D. 1400.
[January.]
Folio 201.

Alii insurrectores, clerici et laici, inter quos Rogerus Walden et episcopus Carleoli, Londoniis inventi, coram justiciariis statuuntur; et solus Rogerus Waldenus excusatur. Laici trahuntur et suspenduntur, clerici trahuntur et decollantur. Episcopus Merks incarceratur et episcopatu privatur; postea tamen rex gratiosè egit cum eo, visâ conversatione ejus.

Ricardus, olim rex, in carcere hæc audiens cæpit omnino de auxilio desperare; et confessus est eos, de consilio suo dato in castro de Conway, ista fecisse: et, ut dicebatur, pro tristiciâ comedere nolens moriebatur; corpusque ejus delatum est sanctum Paulum Londoniis, et facies sua ostensa est populo; et celebratis ibidem exequiis ejus per regem, apud Langley sepultus est.

[August 1st.] Isabella secunda uxor regis Richardi, dote suâ nudata, multis cum muneribus dotata, ab Angliâ in Franciam pulsa est. Qua repatriante, Gallici treugas prius initas solverunt.

Col. b. Tunc rex misit Londoniensibus ut aurum sibi mutuarent: ipsi autem ad eum accesserunt, quærentes an ipsa missio de voluntate suâ processit, referentes quomodo ipse promisit se ab hujusmodi mutuis et tallagiis abstinere. Qui eis respondens, dixit se omnino egere, et pecuniam ab eis tunc habere oportere. Hæc omnia facta sunt anno primo Regis hujus, et anno xxij^o Ricardi, et anno Domini 1399^o.

XII.

[Page 22, line 31.]

A.D. 1401.
Folio 201,
col. b.

Anno Domini 1401, Wallici contra regem Henricum 4^{tum} rebel-
lant, et bona Anglicorum undique diripiunt; rex autem transit in
Walliam borealem et insulam de Anglesey, ubi fratres Minores de

conventu Lamasiae, et Wallici cum aliis, regi resistebant; et ideo A.D. 1401. exercitus regis fratres occidebant et captivabant, ac conventum spoliabant.

Et Audoenon non comparente, revertitur rex.

Et Dominus le Gray manucepit tuitionem patriae. Rex vero tradidit magistro ordinis fratres captivatos, et jussit omnia restitui conventui, et voluit quod conventus ille inhabitaretur ab Anglicis fratribus.

Hoc anno quidam frater Minor de Northfolchiâ in suo sermone Folio 201 b. recommendavit regem Ricardum, dicens quod viveret: et ille de carcere regis traditur magistro ordinis corrigendus.

Audoenus de Glendor dominum le Gray in bello cepit. [1402.]

Et eodem anno capitulum generale fratrum Minorum celebratur Leycestriae in festo Assumptionis, in quo prohibitum est sub poenâ perpetui carceris, ne aliquis fratrum loquatur verbum quod possit sonare in præjudicium regis. Et quod quilibet presidens haberet potestatem totalem incarcerationandi, qui ausus esset in hoc culpari.

XIII.

[Page 24, line 6.]

“Sibi plus tencor.” Et rex ait, “Pugnares tu pro eo?” Res- A.D. 1402.
pondit frater, “Ita verè.” Et rex, “Cum quo?” Respondit frater, Folio 201 b.
“Cum eo quod haberem, fortè cum baculo.” Et rex conclusit,
“Ergo tu velles quod ego esse mortuus, et omnes domini de regno
meo complures.” Respondet frater, “Non.” Et rex, “Quid
faceres mecum, si super me haberes victoriam?” Cui frater,
“Facerem vos ducem Lancastriae.” Tunc rex ait, “Tu non es
amicus meus: per hoc caput meum tu perdes caput tuum.” Et
statutus est frater coram justiciario apud Westmonasterium, cum
quodam seculari sacerdote conspiratore, apud quem literæ con-

A.D. 1402.

spiratoriæ inventæ sunt. Et justiciarius dixit, "Frater, tu exultasti quòd audivisti regem Ricardum vivere, et divulgasti hoc in populo." Frater respondit, "Non divulgavi verbum." Et justiciarius, auditâ duodenâ, tulit sententiam, dicens, "Tu traheris per medium Londoniarum super claiam usque ad Tyburne, et ibidem suspendaris, ibique decollaberis, et caput tuum ponetur super pontem Londoniensem." Quod et de utroque factum est, atque per viam preco clamabat casum eorum.

XIV.

[Page 26, line 26.]

Hoc autem anno, duo alii fratres de conventu Leycestrîæ capti fuerunt in partibus Lichfeldiæ per familiam principis, et ibidem tracti et suspensi sunt et decollati. Caput magistri delatum est Oxoniam in vigiliâ sancti Johannis Baptistæ; et coram processione venientis clamabat preco, "Iste magister, frater Minor de conventu Leicestrensi, in hypocrisi et adulatione et falsâ vitâ prædicavit multoties, dicens quod rex Ricardus vivit, et excitavit populum ut quærerent eum in Scotiâ." Et caput ejus ibi super palum positum est.

Hoc anno, rex Scotiæ misit literas regi Franciæ, dicens quod quidam venit in Scotiam, et duo Jacobitæ dixerunt ipsum fuisse regem Ricardum, sed [et?] rumor ille magis augebatur, sicque dicebatur quod fuisse in Scotiâ.

[June.]

Hoc insuper anno Audocnus de Glendor cepit Edmundum de Mortuo Mari, multis Anglicis de marchiâ Walliæ interfectis: et rex congregato exercitu transiit in Walliam, ubi prohibentibus maximis tempestatibus in Septembri tonitruorum, imbrium et grandinis, equitare non potuerunt; et multi de exercitu frigore mortui sunt.

[Aug. 27th.]

Ibi frater iste qui fratres suos regi accusavit captus est a Wallico

et, quia fatebatur se esse de familiâ regis qui accusabat fratres, a A.D. 1402. Wallico occisus est.

Hoc autem anno, rege existente in Walliâ, Scoti irruerunt in Folio 202 b. Angliam: sed comes Northumbriæ et filius ejus Henricus Percy, valens miles, pugnabant cum eis, et ceperunt comites* eorum, [Sept. 14th.] et x. M interfecerunt de Scotis.

Item, hoc anno, rex desponsavit relictam Johannis de Monte A.D. 1402. Forti, ducissam Britannia, filiam regis Navarra; et eam coronari [Feb. 7th.] fecit.

Hoc anno dominus le Gray, grandi redemptione solutâ, liberatus [November.] est.

Post festum sancti Michaelis factum est parliamentum Londoniis, et decima cleri et xv. populi exactæ sunt, dicente rege se nil habere. [Sept. 30th.] Communitas quæsit ubi fuit thesaurus Ricardi regis. Tandem responsum fuit, quod comes Northumbriæ, qui regem introduxit, et alii illum habuerunt. Rogavit et communitas regem, quod, quia multa sibi tribuunt et ipse nil habet, sinat officiales suos super hoc examinari, sed non assensit.

Hoc anno, dux Aurelianensis, vir valde superbus et malus, misit [Oct. 2nd.] regi Angliæ literas provocans ipsum ad duellum. Rex respondit quod non pugnaret cum minore se, nec cum consanguineo pugnare [Dec. 5th.] licet. Dux dixit, "Dignitatem quam injustè invasisti, in te non A.D. 1403. veneror; et ita decenter mecum pugnare potes, sicut occidisti [March 26th.]*] regem cognatum tuum:" et multa alia convicia scripsit regi.

XV.

[Page 29, line 18.]

A.D. 1404.

Hoc anno (1403), clerus Angliæ concessit regi petenti medietatem Folio 203, col. b.
unius decimæ. Post festum sancti Hillarii inceptum est parlia- [Jan. 14th.]

* Battle of Homildon Hill, Sept. 14th.

† Carte, ii. 656.

A.D. 1404.

mentum, et duravit usque ad Pascha; quia rex exigebat magnum tallagium, dicens se habere bellum cum Wallicis, Scotis, Hibernicis, et Gallicis in Vasconiâ; insuper custodia Calesiæ magna fuit, et maris Anglicani. Communitas respondit dicens, quod "ista non inquietant Angliam multum, et si inquietarent, adhuc rex habet omnes proventus coronæ [et] ducatus Lancastriæ: at theolonia notabiliter excessivè elevata pro rege Richardo, ita ut proventus theoloniorum, lanarum et aliarum mercium excedant proventus coronæ. Habuit similiter wardas quasi omnium comitum, baronum et nobilium Angliæ; quæ theolonia et wardæ olim erant concessæ regi in subsidium communitatis pro guerris, ut a tallagiis exoneretur regnum." Rex autem dixit, "se nolle perdere terras patrum suorum in diebus suis, et ideo omnino tallagium habere oportuit." Tunc communitas petiit a rege, ut "si tallagium habere omnino velit, quod theolonia minuerentur." Rex respondit, quod "theolonia habere vellet sicut habuerunt sui prædecessores." Et cum mansissent Londoniis in gravibus expensis usque ad Pascha talia disputando, tandem exegit ab eis, quod pro omni parte terræ in Angliâ valente annuatim *xxs.*, solverentur *xiiid.*; exceptis terris quas ecclesiastici habuerunt ante annum octavum Edwardi Primi, filii Henrici; in quo ordinatum fuit, quod ecclesiastici in possessionibus non crescerent. Ipsi tandem attediati de morâ hoc concesserunt sub hâc cum (*sic*) conditione, quod eligerent certas personas qui tallagium reciperent et pro guerris tum expenderent, et inde computum parlamento darent; et rex auctoritatem recipiendi et expendendi per chartam suam eis daret. Rex videbatur assentire, ac electæ sunt personæ, et charta scripta sed non sigillata, et solum est parliamentum.

Folio 203 b.

XVI.

[Page 30, line 11.]

Adhuc rumor de vitâ regis Ricardi invaluit in Angliâ, et A.D. 1404. quod ipse moraretur in Scotiâ in castro ducis Roseyæ, quod Albion ^{Folio 203 b,} dicitur. _{col. b.}

Quidam vir venit ad comitissam Oxoniæ, et affirmavit regem Ricardum vivere, quæ ex hoc gaudens arrestata fuit et posita in Turri Londoniensi, quæ insuper post grandem redemptionem liberata est.

Similiter abbates sanctæ Osithæ et Colcestriæ accusati, pro pecuniis gratiam regis habere meruerunt.

Hoc anno Bonifacius papa moritur, et eligitur Innocentius, jurans quod laboraret ad unionem ecclesie.

Quo insuper anno, statutum parliamentum apud Coventriam [Oct. 6th.] statim post festum sancti Michaelis. Et rex mandavit quod nullus juris peritus ad illud veniret, et notificavit vicecomitibus quos milites et communitatum procuratores voluit illuc mitti. Et ibi exegit duas decimas cleri, et duas quintas decimas laicorum.

XVII.

[Page 31, line 32.]

— Item, quod juris periti ad parliamenta veniant, et suâ A.D. 1405. sapientiâ consulant: quod milites comitatum et burgenses civitatum mittendi ad parliamenta per comitatus et civitates eligantur, et non per regem assignentur: et quod parliamentum statuatur Londoniis, qui locus est magis purus, et ubi hæc melius corrigi possunt; quæ si correcta sunt, habemus firmam spem quod Wallia erit subjecta Angliæ, sicut fuit temporibus Edwardi et Ricardi. Hæc in Anglico scripta, &c.

[Page 32, line 25.]

A.D. 1405.
Folio 201 b,
col. b.

Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, his auditis, venit cum festinatione ad regem. Et quidam miles aulicus regis videns eum dixit regi, "Si iste Archiepiscopus Eborum veniet, omnes nos a vobis recedemus." Et Archiepiscopus in præsentiâ cujusdam notarii dixit regi, "Domine, ego sum pater vester spiritualis," &c.

[Page 33, line 4.]

Rex vero intravit aulam Archiepiscopi ad prandendum, et habuit secum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, et totam familiam suam, et dum pranderent adjudicati sunt Archiepiscopus Eborum, dominus Mowbray et quidam miles prædictus; et extra civitatem decollantur in festo sancti Wilhelmi.

[June 8th.]

XVIII.

[Page 33, line 17.]

A.D. 1405.
[July]
Folio 205.

Comes Northumbriæ et dominus Bardolf, de castro Berwici, recesserunt in Scotiam. Rex autem venit ad Berwicum, et expugnando castrum, multos lapides jactari fecit cum bombardis ad muros castri: sed frangebantur lapides per murorum duritiam. Tandem accidit, quod lapis quidam percussus sit ferramentum cancellatum cujusdam fenestræ in quodam tenui muro, et homines ibidem ascendentes occidit. Et ex tunc omnes inclusi amiserunt corda, et vecordes effecti exierunt, gratiam regis implorantes; quos rex jussit decollari.

Et reversus transiit in Walliam australem, et castrum de Coyfy diu a Wallicis obsessum liberavit. Et in redeundo cariagium suum et jocalia sua Wallenses spoliabant.

Papa autem, auditâ morte archiepiscopi, &c.

[Line 26.]

"Vide si tunica hæc filii tui sit an non?" et quievit materia.

Hoc anno factum est parliamentum post dominicam primam xl^æ, A.D. 1406. et duravit usque ad Natale Domini. Clerus autem in convocatione [March 1st.] concessit regi unam xx^{am} et vjs. viij^d. a quolibet annuario sacerdote; sed laici nil solvere volebantur (*sic*), nec (*sic*) eis daretur computus de receptis sicut prius ordinatum fuit et per regem promissum. Rex breviter respondebat, quod "reges non solebant computum dare." * Officiales dixerunt, quod "nullus eorum scivit computum reddere." Ordinati ad recipiendum collectam anni præcedentis dixerunt "se auctoritatem recipiendi non habere, nec aliquid acceperunt;" et sic negotium remansit imperfectum hoc anno.

XIX.

[Page 36, line 22.]

Anno Domini 1407, et anno regis Henrici 4th 7^o, dux Aurelia- A.D. 1407.
nensis, multum odiosus in Franciâ, propter turbam cum quâ sæpe
equitabat, interfici non potuit; ideo in civitate Paris, ubi cum paucis Folio 205,
col. b.
ambulabat tanquam securus, occiditur—hoc modo. Unus inimicus
suus cæreo incendit quandam domum, et socii sui occidunt ducem
et abierunt festinanter, clamantes "Ad ignem! ite ad ignem!"
Familia autem ducis clamabat "Proditio! proditio!" Sed populus [Nov. 23rd.]
transiit ad ignem. Rex autem Franciæ turbatus est et omne con-
cilium suum cum illo, inquirentes quis hoc fecit. Dux Burgundiæ
dixit, "Juretis mihi quod tenebitis consilium per 3 dies, et dicam
vobis quis hoc fecit." Et juraverunt; et ipse confessus est de
scientiâ suâ hoc factum fuisse. Tunc excluserunt eum a concilio.
Ipse vero transiit in Flandriam et Alemanniam colligens exer-
citus copiosum, invocavitque auxilium regis Angliæ. Rex autem
pro illo murthero contempsit eum. Rex vero Franciæ misit pro
duce. Dux respondit quod non veniret, nec approbaret mortem

* Bishop Wilkins has quoted the above paragraph. (Concil. iii. 282.)

- A.D. 1407. hominis morte dignissimam: quia fuit homo luxoriosissimus, jactans se violasse uxores multorum dominorum et nobilium Franciæ, reginam, et totam prolem regiam suam esse affirmavit. Et minabatur consiliariis regis, si contrarium consulerent, quod morerentur.

XX.

[Page 34, line 7.]

- A.D. 1407.
Folio 205 b. Rex itaque per magnum tempus non solveret soldariis, custodibus Calesiæ, sua vadia; quare ipsi detinuerunt lanas mercatorum quæ fuerunt ibidem, veruntamen mercatores conquesti sunt regi, et rex petiit ut mutuarent sibi pecunias; mercatores autem se excusabant. "Vos habetis aurum," dixit rex, "et ego volo habere aurum—ubi est?" Tandem, post longam moram, mercatores concesserunt sibi aurum eâ conditione, quod cancellarius Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et dux Eboracensis manucaperent pro resolutione: quod et factum est.

- A.D. 1408. Tunc proceres Scotorum deduxerunt comitem Northumbriæ et dominum Bardolf et abbatem de Hayles usque ad aquam Twede, dicentes eis, "Jam procedatis! vos habetis Angliam vobiscum." Qui venerunt cum parvâ comitivâ usque ad Tadcastre. Et vicecomes Eborum venit cum exercitu, et trucidavit eos:* capita eorum posita super pontem Londoniensem.

[Feb. 18th.]

* At the battle of Bramham Moor, Feb. 18th.

NOTES.

Page 1, line 10. *the erl of Dene*.—The son of the earl of Denia, who had been taken captive at Navaretta. The earl had been adjudged prisoner of the two esquires, Hawley and Shakell, by the Black Prince and sir John Chandos, their master; and had been permitted to return to Spain, upon leaving his son as his security. The earl died, and the son remained the prisoner of the two esquires. His release was probably commanded by the king, to answer some ends towards Lancaster's acquisition of Castille (see Wals. 1574, p. 216; Speed, 731; Tyrrell, iii. 840); but as little was offered for the young earl, and the esquires had expected the full ransom since the preceding August, 1377 (Rymer, vii. 171), they would not produce him. Hawley and Shakell were sent to the Tower, and from thence petitioned parliament for a commission to inquire into their rights. (Rot. Parl. iii. 50.) They managed to escape, and fled to Westminster sanctuary. Sir Alan de Buxhull, constable of the Tower, sir Ralph Ferrers—and some say lord Latimer (Stowe)—were sent to remove them by force, and Hawley was slain in the church. The case was taken up in parliament; the convent of Westminster petitioned for protection of its privileges (iii. 37); and the archbishop demanded redress. All concerned in the murder were excommunicated: and the bishop of London on several successive Sundays continued to pronounce the curse from St. Paul's. (Wals., Rot. Parl.) The murder was committed on the 11th August, 1378. Hawley is buried in the Abbey. (Seymour's Survey, ii. 516; Stowe, Annals, 282.)

Page 2, line 1. *dredyng*.—No notice is taken of this form beyond the present: it is so common in the same connection, that probably the writer intended it for the past tense.

Line 22. *how saint Peter halowed it, as folowethe . . .*.—See Appendix, Supplementary Add. I. The chronicle “brought forth” seems to have been that of Ailred of Rievale. The history of the consecration, as given in the Eulogium, has been printed in the Appendix as it was contained in the original text, though it differs but little from that of Ailred printed in the *Decem Scriptores*, col. 385-6.

Line 28. *unkid*.—(Sax. *uncuð*). Unknown, inexperienced, and so to be dreaded, marvellous. The word still lives in these senses in the Oxfordshire dialect.

Page 3, line 5. *Remc, and paide for hir xxij. m^l marc*.—See Appendix, p. 121. The princess Anne, afterwards “the good queen Anne,” was daughter of the late emperor Charles IV. and sister of the emperor Wynceslaus, king of Bohemia. Wynceslaus was to receive from Richard 10,000 marks, and to bear no share in the expenses attending the journey to England. Richard was to have received a large sum with the duke of Milan’s daughter. (Tyrrell, iii. 871.)

Line 6. *Ther was offrid vnto him the erlis douzter of Flaunders*.—Richard had already been engaged in two marriage negotiations: first for Catherine, daughter of Barnabas duke of Milan, in 1379 (Rymer, vii. 213); afterwards for Catherine, daughter of the late emperor Louis, in 1380 (id. 257). But the text is wrong. Margaret, daughter of Louis count of Flanders, and widow of Philip duke of Burgundy, who died in 1361, had married Philip of Burgundy, son of king John of France, in 1369: the marriage contract bears date April 12. (*Corps Diplomatique du Droit des Gens*, ii. 72.) In Rymer are several documents relating to a proposed alliance between Edmund Langley, *uncle of the king*, and Margaret of Flanders, ranging from Feb. 8, 1362, to Oct. 24, 1365. (Rymer, 1830, iii. 636, 744, 750, 758, 761, 777.) Louis himself was anxious for the marriage, but Charles V. of France and his own mother, Margaret of Artois (Mezeray, 4to. ii. 581), dissuaded him, and he obtained an acquittal of his engagement in 1368. (Froissart, i. cclviii.) Philip had been created duke of Burgundy by his father, king John, to whom the dukedom had passed upon the death of the former duke Philip, on Sept. 6, 1363;

and in right of his wife obtained the *counties* of Flanders, Artois, and Burgundy.

Line 9. *The vij. year of king Richard.*—This confederation of the French and Scots was in 1385, 8 Ric. II., not as in the text. The document in Rymer (vii. 434), July 26, 1384, proves that the Scots were then included in the armistice which had been made with France in January. Upon the expiration of the truce, May 1, 1385 (Rymer, vii. 418), the duke of Vienne sailed with 300 ships to Scotland, to assist in a descent upon England, while French fleets were to attack her coasts on the east and west. (Knyghton, 2675; Wals. 342; Evesham, 61.) Richard, from Reading, June 4, ordered his troops to be assembled at Newcastle-on-Tyne by July 14, when he intended to lead in person. (Rymer, vii. 473-4, 476.) He was at Leicester on July 7, and marched northwards with an army unequalled in magnitude. The Scots fled at his approach. He burnt the abbey of Melrose and city of Edinburgh; and then, contrary to the advice of Lancaster, led his army back, in the early part of September, to find that the Scots had penetrated to Carlisle, and carried off more plunder than he had from their capital. Froissart says that Richard destroyed Perth, Aberdeen, and Dundee, and plundered the whole country; other historians give a more humble account. While this was happening, disturbances from the Gantois detained the French fleet at Sluys. (Walsingham, Knyghton, Stowe, Speed, Froissart, ii. clxv-vii.)

Line 23. *The viij. year of king Richard.*—This year Edmund Langley was retained to serve in the Scottish wars (Dugd. Bar. ii. 155), and was created duke of York for his various services, Aug. 6, 1385, 9 Ric. II. His Portuguese expedition followed upon the treaty with England against John of Castille, on the part of England, May 20, 1380; of Portugal, July 5. (Rymer, vii. 253, 262.) On the same day (July 5) Ferdinand of Portugal undertook John of Ghent's quarrel against Castille, which he claimed in right of his wife, and promised to marry his daughter Beatrice to the son of the earl of Cambridge, upon the appearance of the earl with 1000 spears and 1000 archers. The earl was sent with exactly half that number about May, 1381 (Rymer, vii. 305); and Lancaster was to join with a large force after he had settled some disturbances in Scotland. In

January 1382 he petitioned parliament for 60,000*l.* pay for 2000 heavy armed and 2000 archers, for half a year (Rot. Parl. iii 114), without effect; and Ferdinand, in consequence of his non-appearance, made peace with Castille. The earl of Cambridge then returned, about October 1382 (Froissart), carrying with him his son John, although betrothed to Beatrice. In October the following year Ferdinand died, and John his natural brother was proclaimed king, in April, 1385, to oppose the claims of John of Castille, who had married Beatrice, Ferdinand's illegitimate daughter (formerly betrothed to John of Cambridge). The cause of Portugal was embraced by English auxiliaries, who with permission joined his standard. (Rymer, vii. 450, 453, 455, 462, 472.) And in August, by their help, an important victory was obtained over the Castillians and French at Aljubarota. (Froissart.) Perhaps this is the foundation for the account in the text. Finding himself too weak to prolong the contest, John king of Portugal sent ambassadors to England, who arrived in the autumn of the same year, 1385.

Last line. *The king of Ermonie*.—Late in the year 1385, Leo king of Armenia visited the English court. He came as a peace-maker between France and England. (See in Rymer, vii. 491, document dated Jan. 22, 1386, 9 R. II.) But his chief object was to implore assistance in an attempt to regain his kingdom. Richard entertained him at Eltham, and would have assisted him in every way; but the council negatived the idea of sending troops so far from home, and advised the king to make a present of money. (MS. Rawl. 173.) Richard therefore settled on Leo 1,000*l.* per ann. on Feb. 3, 1386, to be received by equal portions at the Exchequer until he was reinstated in his dominions. (Exchequer Issue Roll, 15 R. II. Dec. 12th; Rymer, vii. 494.) He presented him also with 1,000*l.* in a ship of gold. (Evesham, 71.) Froissart says, Leo refused the rich presents pressed upon him, reserving only a gold ring. In the summer or autumn of the same year he offered to return, but the nobles declined the honour of a second visit. (Wals. 354; Evesham. 76.) Yet the king and his council seem to have wished it, and we find letters of safe conduct granted to Leo March 18th, to last till Aug. 1st; and May 12th till Christmas 1386. (Rymer, vii. 502, 503.) And again, Dec. 11th, 1392 (736.) The king's chamberlain, however, made periodical visits to the English exchequer. (See Rymer vii. 549, 706, 767.)

Page 4, line 8. *the erlle of Oxenforde*.—Robert de Vere, created marquis of Dublin, with the dominion and revenues of Ireland for life, in the parliament which commenced Oct. 20, 1395, 9 R. II. (Rot. Parl. iii. 209.) This was the first time the title of marquis was conferred, and gave great offence on account of the precedence before the other nobles which it gave this worthless favourite. (Wals. 320; Dugdale, Bar. i. 194; Stowe, 299.) De Vere was further advanced to the title of duke of Ireland.

Line 16. *in the playn parlement*.—That is, “en le pleyn parlement,” “in pleao parlamento.”

Line 18. *the which erl . . . was slayn in Yrlond*.—Roger Mortimer earl of March was earl of Ulster and lord lieutenant of Ireland. In Pell Issue Roll, Easter, 16 R. II., is a compensation paid to the earl for lands devastated by the Irish. He was slain July 20th, 1398, 22 R. II. He was declared heir-apparent in the parl. 9 R. II. (See Dugdale, Bar. i. 150; Fabyan, 9 R. II.; Leland, Coll. ii. 481.)

Line 19. *the wilde Yrishmenne*.—Richard, writing from Dublin to the duke of York, custos of England, Feb. 1st, 1395, 18 R. II., says . . . “en nostre terre d'Irland sont trois maners des gentz, c'est as savoir, Irrois savages, noz enemis, Irroix rebelx, et Engleis obeissantz.” Proceedings of Privy Council, i. 56.

Line 20. *be counsel of a burgeis of London*.—(See Appendix, p. 122.) In the parliament at Westminster, Oct. 1st, 1386, 10 R. II., the Commons impeached Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, and placed the legislative power in the hands of fourteen commissioners selected by themselves, with the king's sanction, for one year. (Knyghton, 2684, 2685; Rot. Parl. iii. 216-220; Stat. Realm, ii. 40-46.) The displeasure of Richard was not shown openly; but in August the following year, 1387, he held two conferences with certain judges at Shrewsbury, and at Nottingham on the 25th, on the subject of the legality of the late proceedings in parliament. They declared that the commission was illegal, and that all engaged in it deserved the punishment of traitors. (Knyghton, 2694-2696; Rot. Parl.

iii. 233, 357, 358; Stat. Realm, ii. 102-104.) The two following months Richard travelled about the North of England secretly to procure troops to support his intended resumption of power—though the legal expiration of the commission was at hand—and an indictment of Gloucester and those of his party. Failing of much support he resolved, perhaps at the advice of sir Nicolas Brember, to try the affections of the men of London. (Knyghton, Tyrrell, Lingard.) Brember had been several times mayor, and was afterwards charged with causing the city guilds to take an oath to support the power of the favourites. (Rot. Parl. 234, 235.) On Sunday, Nov. 10th, the king made his entry into London, and was met by the mayor and aldermen in state; but Roger Fulthorpe, one of the justices he had consulted, had betrayed the proceedings at Nottingham to the earls of Kent and Northumberland, bidding them inform the chancellor and the king's council. (Rot. Parl. iii. 239, v. 393.) On the next morning, the king heard of the arrival of Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, with a large body of forces, at Haringay park, not far from the walls of London. There were some about the king who advised an appeal to arms, but the citizens would not be roused. The lords were joined on Thursday 14th, at Waltham Cross, by the earls of Derby and Nottingham, and these five appealed of treason the five favourites, before some of the parliamentary commissioners, the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of Ely. On the Sunday they made their appeal before the king against Robert de Vere duke of Ireland, Alexander Neville archbishop of York, Michael de la Pole earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian false justice, and Nicholas Brember false knight. The king assured them a full hearing in the next parliament, which was fixed for Feb. 3rd, 1388. (Knyghton, Walsingham.)

Last line. *same place for to refourme pee; betuene thaym.*—The Eulogium from which our author here translated has confused the history. Upon the king's promise to give the appellants an opportunity to prosecute their charges in parliament the accused persons had fled—the archbishop into the North, Michael de la Pole shaved his head and crossed in disguise to Calais, and de Vere, "cum conniventia regis," (Wals., Rot. Parl. iii. 418, 1 Hen. IV.) raised forces in Cheshire. On his return he was met by the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Derby, and compelled to a battle at Radcote bridge, near Chipping Norton, Oxon, on Dec. 20th. He escaped

with life by swimming across the Isis. The king and queen were spending Christmas in the Tower when Gloucester and Derby, on Dec. 26th, encamped their army, of about 40,000 men, within sight of its walls at Clerkenwell. The citizens doubted whether to obey the king or the lords. The lords seemed the more powerful party, and the mayor received them in a house close by the city gates, supplied them with all that was wanted, and distributed wine with beer and bread and cheese throughout the army: a favour which we are told was gratefully remembered. Strict watch was kept upon the Thames to prevent the king's escape, and the lords demanded an interview. He offered to receive them in the Tower, and to let them search it if they were suspicious. Gloucester then had an interview with the king; he complained of his treachery, and extorted a promise that he would meet them on the following day at Westminster. At that meeting Richard, "sore against his mind" (Stowe), gave permission for the arrest of those who were obnoxious to Gloucester's party, to be reserved for judgment at the ensuing parliament. (Walsingham, Evesham, Knyghton.) On Feb. 3rd, 1388, the "merciless parliament" assembled, and the charge of conspiracy against the parliamentary commission was prosecuted. Robert de Vere, M. de la Pole, and archbishop Neville, were out of the way; but Tresilian, who had taken sanctuary in Westminster, was dragged out and suffered death on the 19th, Brember on the 20th Feb., Sir Simon Burley on the 5th, and Beauchamp, Salisbury, and Berners, on the 12th May. A free pardon was granted to the appellants; and on Wednesday, June 3d, the 121st day of the parliament, the king renewed his coronation oath and the lords their homage. No statute of the present parliament was ever to be annulled, and the bishops pronounced an excommunication against all who should at any time break the oaths then made. (Rot. Parl., Stat. Realm.)

Page 5, line 26. *ser Simon of Beverley*.—An intollerable proud man, and great oppressor of the poor (Stowe): an accomplished scholar, tutor to Richard II. and afterwards his chamberlain; sent to Prague to negotiate his marriage with Anne of Bohemia; constable of Dover Castle, warden of the cinque-ports, and a knight of the garter—"a gentle knight, and of strong good sense," says his friend Froissart, who was afflicted at sir Simon's death. (Froiss. iii. lxxx.)

- Page 6, line 16. *John Wiclif*.—According to Walsingham, he was seized with paralysis, as he was about to preach something heretical, on the day of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and lingered till St Silvester's, 1385. (Wals. 338; Upod. Neus. 142.) The correct date of his death seems to be Dec. 31st, 1384. (Stowe, 296; Wood, Antiq. 193.) He had been suffering from paralysis for two years. His doctrines were condemned, and his books, and bones, if they could be separated from those of the faithful, were ordered to be burnt by decree of the 8th session of the Council of Constance, May 4th, 1415. (Mansi, Concil. Collect. xxvii. 630, &c.; Foxe, i. 605.)

Line 19. *The xij. yeer of king Richard*.—The English chroniclers agree in placing these jousts in this year. A cause may be found for them, in the celebration of the king's resumption of power, in May, 1389, 12 Ric. II. But Froissart places them in Michaelmas 1390, 14 Ric II; and Stowe, on the 10th, 11th, and 12th Oct. 1390, which seems to be the favoured date.

Line 32. *through all Spayne, &c.*—See Appendix, p. 125. After the return of Richard and the duke of Lancaster from the expedition into Scotland, in Sept. 1385, the Portuguese ambassadors were received; and Lancaster obtained a liberal grant from parliament (Rot. Parl. iii. 204), which met Oct. 20th. Preparation was made for his departure early the next year, 1386. On March 15th and 26th, orders were issued, according to a destructive custom of the time, for seizing ships and mariners for the expedition. By April 20th the duke was at Plymouth, waiting for more ships and transports, when he received a letter from the council, stating, that, as the greater part of the navy of England would sail with him, it would be necessary for him to see to their return. (Rymer, vii. 501, 504, 509, 524.) Lancaster had taken leave of the king a little before Easter, (not, as Knyghton says, on Easter day, April 22nd,) when the king and queen presented the duchess and himself with regal crowns of gold. (Knyghton, 2676.) The expedition sailed from Plymouth on July 9th; it consisted of 20,000, and was amply blessed by pope Urban VI. who granted a pardon to all who should sail in it. (Wals.) Sir Thomas Percy, afterwards earl of Worcester, was the admiral, and John Holland earl of

Huntingdon the constable. (Froissart.) On the voyage the duke landed for two days to relieve the garrison of Brest, blockaded by the Bretons; and then sailed into Corunna on August 9th. The reduction of Galicia followed. On the frontier of Portugal the duke was met by king John, when operations against Castille were agreed upon, and the marriage of John himself with Philippa the duke's daughter. This took place in the spring of the next year, 1387. The campaign was not prosperous. The climate disagreed with the English soldiers; the duke fell into ill health, and wrote strongly for reinforcements from England, which, we are told, he scarcely dared expect. (Froissart.) Policy then suggested a French alliance, through the marriage of his daughter Catherine with the duke of Touraine, the younger brother of Charles V. The duke of Berri also happened at this time to solicit his daughter's hand, and Lancaster took care that the news should reach king John of Castille, who, dreading a French alliance with Lancaster, offered his own son Henry, a boy of nine years of age, as a match for the duke's daughter. The articles which followed were advantageous to Lancaster; a vast sum of money was paid down by the king of Castille, and a large annuity was settled upon the duke and duchess during either of their lives. Constance duchess of Lancaster was to resign her claim to Castille in favour of her daughter; the king was to retain the crown during life; at his death, which followed shortly after, it was to descend to Henry and Catherine, and their descendants; and, failing their issue, to the children of Edmund Langley, who had married Isabella the younger daughter of Peter of Castille. (Knyghton, 2677; Evesham, 120; Walsingham; Froissart.)

Page 7, line 11. *And in that viage many a worthi man died upon the flize.* (Rawl. 173, Rawl. 190, f. 144, b.) Descriptive of Lancaster's return.—Soon after the king's sudden resumption of power in May, 1389, 12 R. II. he wrote urgently to Lancaster requesting his immediate return from Guienne, where the duke had retired to recruit his health; his presence was needed in England to preserve a balance among factions. On Aug. 11th, 1389, an order was issued for seizing six ships and a barge in Dartmouth harbour, and rendering them fit for service, to bring back the duke from Bordeaux to England. (Rymer, vii. 641.) On the 30th October the king wrote to the duke desiring him to provide for the govern-

ment of Guienne, and to return. (648.) On the 28th Nov. letters patent were prepared for him according to desire, to insure him against suspicion on his road through France. (Acts of Council, i. 14.) On the 10th Dec. 1389, 13 Ric. II. letters were sent from Reading to the regent of Guienne, acquainting him with the return of the duke of Lancaster. (i. 17.)

Line 12. *also relece the remenaunt of kyng Johannes raunsoun.*—See Appendix.

Line 23. *Edmund hadde a crokid back and was a mysshape.*—See Appendix. This story is explained by Hardyng, in additions to his Chronicle, which, according to Sir Henry Ellis, occur only in two MSS.; one among the Harleian MSS. (661) in the British Museum, the other is the splendid Selden MS. of Hardyng in the Bodleian Library, said to have been a presentation copy to Edward IV. The explanation of Lancaster's fraud occurs immediately after the letter of defiance from the Percies to Henry IV. before the battle of Shrewsbury. These prose additions have been printed in the "Hereditary Right to the Crown," pp. 81–86 (a translation only of the letter of defiance, which is in Latin), by Sir Henry Ellis, in *Archæologia*, vol. xvi. pp. 140–144, and in his edition of Hardyng. Hardyng must have added these passages not long before his death, in the early part of Edward IV. to settle the Yorkist succession against those who still adhered to the house of Lancaster. He had been from twelve years of age brought up in the service of the Percies; at the battle of Shrewsbury he was twenty-five years old; and he had often heard the earl of Northumberland affirm that the duke of Lancaster was the author of the report that Edmund, from whom he was descended, was the elder son of Henry III. and set aside on account of his deformity. The duke had forged a chronicle to prove his point, and "dide put [it] in divers abbaies and in freres, as I herde the said earl ofte tymes saie and record to divers persouns, forto be kepte for the enheritaunce of his sonne to the croune, whiche title he put furste forth after he hade kyngge Richarde in the Toure; but that title the erle Percy put aside." In the speech which bishop Merks is said to have delivered, in favour of Richard, at the election of Henry IV. allusion is made to this story as an exploded fable; while Henry seemed to build his title partly upon it. Otterbourne men-

tions the search among the chroniclers at Henry's election, no doubt, to clear up the point, as Hardyng states; and it is rather remarkable that not an allusion to this story was made by the duke of York in declaring his title to the crown in 1460, 39 Hen. VI. (see page 100), though it is evident from Hardyng that many persons, even in the early part of Edward IV. believed Edmund to have been the elder son of Henry III. According to Lambard (*Perambulation*, 1656, p. 504), sir John Fortescue wrote a treatise, which he tells us he "once saw," defending the title of Lancaster as derived from Edmund. Selden, in the Preface to Fortescue's "*De Laudibus*" (Pref. lv.), has given a list of most of his works. His treatises on the titles of the houses of York and Lancaster, and genealogy of the house of Lancaster, were formerly in the Cottonian Library, but were destroyed in the fire of 1731.

Line 27. *the erlle of Penbroke*.—John Hastings. Stowe (305), from the Tower records, places his death at Christmas 1390, 14 Ric. II.; Dugdale the year preceding, making him seventeen years of age; according to whom also (Bar. i. 578) he carried the gold spurs at the coronation of Richard II. before he was five years old. There is an account of an allowance to the earl in Acts of Privy Council, i. 12.

Page 8, line 6. *horsbred, horsloof*.—Pain pour chevaux. No doubt the coarsest kind of bread; but innkeepers were not allowed to make it at this time, but bakers only, by stat. i. cap. 8, 13 Ric. II. and afterwards 4 Hen. IV. cap. 25. Village innkeepers might make it, by 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 41, a permission taken away by 21 Jac. I. cap. 21, "No hostler or innholder shall . . . make horsebread in his hostery nor without, but bakers shall make it, . . . and the hostlers or innholders shall *sell* their horsebread, and their hay, oats, beans, peas, provender, and also all kind of victual both for man and beast, for reasonable gain." (Stat. Realm.) In the *Assisa Panis et Cervisie*, and *Stat. de Pistoribus*, of uncertain dates (Stat. Realm, i. 199, 200, 202), we read of wastel-bread, cocket-bread, treet or trite-bread, and common wheaten-bread. The legal profits of the bakers are made out clearly in these ancient documents, as settled by the king's bakers. The *Stat. Pistor.* orders that every baker shall have his own mark on the different kinds of his bread.

Line 6. *ostrie hous.*—Hostery; an inn.

Line 8. *why he dede so, and this.*—"Romaine turned ayene, and brake the bakers hede. And neighbourcs come out, and wolde have restid this Romaine, and he brak from hem, and fledde unto his lordis place; and the constable wolde have had him out, but the bisshoppes men shute faste the gate," &c. (Rawl. 173; Rawl. 190, f. 144-5.) From this, according to the Brute, resulted riots, on account of which the city privileges were withdrawn. The king's resentment had been excited by the citizens refusing to lend him 1000*l*; and he took occasion, from some disturbance of this kind, to visit the city with his indignation. The courts of law had been removed from Westminster to York on March 20, 1392, 15 Ric. II. (Rymer, vii. 713.) Upon the occurrence of this riot in Fleet-street, in which much of the public money had been endangered by the attack on the house of the bishop of Salisbury, John de Waltham, then treasurer of England, John Hende the mayor, the sheriffs, and twenty-four aldermen were cited to appear before the council at Nottingham on the 24th June, 16 Ric. II. (Knyghton, 2740.) On the day following, sir Edward de Dalingridge was appointed custos of London (Rymer, vii. 723), and the city functionaries were thrown into prison. (736.) They were brought again before the council at Windsor, on July 22nd, when the liberties of the city were seized into the king's hands, and sir Baldwine de Radynton was appointed to supersede Dalingridge. (731.) The Londoners saw that "the end of these things was a money matter" (Stowe, 307); and on Sunday, August 18th, the chief inhabitants made a formal submission to the king, and bound themselves to pay him 100,000*l*., a debt which was remitted at the prayer of queen Anne. (Rymer, vii. 736.) But a present of 10,000*l*. the king accepted, and promised to visit the city of London on the 21st. This he did in company with the queen,* and at her intreaty granted a pardon, dated Woodstock, Sept. 19th. (Rymer, vii. 735.) The courts were restored to London after Christmas, 1392, 16 Ric. II. and the

* A very interesting account of the royal procession through London, and of the presents to the king and queen, written in Latin elegiacs by Richard Maidstone, has been published by the Camden Society. "Richard Maidstone," says Mr. Wright, "was in great repute at court," and contemporary with what he describes, since he died in 1396.

citizens were allowed to elect a new mayor on Jan. 5th. (Fabyan.) According to Stowe entire reconciliation was not made till Feb. 23rd.

Line 13. *the erlle of Arundelle*.—Richard Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel and Surrey. Two dates are given for his arrest: according to the Rolls of Parliament it was on July 8th (Rot. Parl. iii. 435), from which source we get the following particulars:—The arrest took place in the presence of the king, who promised the earl, under oath made before the archbishop of Canterbury and sir John Wiltshire, who were also present, that he should neither suffer in his person or property. This was before the arrest of Warwick, which took place on the 10th. Otterbourne, however (190), says that the duke of Gloucester and earl of Arundel were invited to the dinner at which the earl of Warwick was seized; the duke was ill and could not come; Arundel suspected treachery and refused; and upon this the king employed the archbishop (much as in the Eulogium) to bring him into his power. Walsingham (354), placing the arrest after that of Warwick, says that Arundel was brought into the king's power by treachery. He was immediately confined in the Tower, and then moved to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, where he remained till Wednesday, Sept. 19th, when he was brought up to the parliament.

Line 16. *the erlle of Warwic*.—Thomas Beauchamp: he was arrested on the 10th July. (Rot. Parl. iii. 436; Otterb. 190.) The rolls state, at the house of the bishop of Exeter, the chancellor, near Temple Bar; Otterbourne and Walsingham, Holinshed, Stowe, &c. say that it was on the day the king had invited him to dinner. Perhaps these statements are not contradictory. He was confined in the Tower first, and then sent to Tintagel castle, in Cornwall, and was brought up to the parliament on Friday, Sept. 21st.

Line 19. *the duke of Gloucestre*.—The arrest of Thomas of Woodstock followed immediately after the capture of Arundel and Warwick. There is a difficulty in accounting for the suddenness of these arrests. With regard to Gloucester, his opposition to the king had been reaching a climax for some time. He had opposed the king's own marriage and the peace with France; had refused to attend the parliament in which Lancaster's chil-

dren by Katharine Swynford were legitimated, and one of them, John Beaufort, created earl of Somerset; had openly insulted the king, and was dreaded at court (see Froissart's account, iv. lxxxviii.); was said to have been engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone Richard, and place Roger Mortimer, earl of March, on the throne; had excited the Londoners against Richard, &c. The *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Ric. II.* (Eng. Hist. Soc.) further relates a conspiracy to dethrone Richard, which began at the dinner-table of the abbot of St. Alban's, godfather to Gloucester, in the early part of July, when Gloucester and the prior of Westminster were dining with the abbot. The prior and the abbot told visions relating to the dethroning of Richard, which they had each had on the preceding night, and Gloucester invited them to meet him that day fortnight at Arundel Castle. The earl promised a welcome, and "on the 8th day before the month of August," July 24th, there met Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, Derby, Nottingham, archbishop of Canterbury, abbot of St. Alban's, and the prior of Westminster. Richard was to be imprisoned with the dukes of Lancaster and York, and the lords of the council were to be drawn and hanged. All this was to happen in August; but the earl of Nottingham betrayed the conspiracy. The "*Chronique*" has been followed by Fabyan, Holinshed, Carte, but not by Stowe, who had it in his possession. Fabyan has altered the date of the confederacy at Arundel from the "8th day before August" to August 8th. These dates are both wrong, as the arrests took place certainly as early as July 10th. Carte, apparently on his own authority, has altered the day to July 8th, which would suit tolerably well (ii. 621). If the author of the "*Chronique*" himself supplied many of the details, we may well believe that he had fact to build upon.* The great objection appears to be, as Lingard (iii. 359) observes, that no charge founded on any such conspiracy exists on the rolls. Gloucester was arrested by the king in person at Pleshy, given in charge to the earl marshal (earl of Nottingham, captain of Calais), and hurried off to Calais immediately. (Rot. Parl. 418; Froissart, iv. lxxxviii. &c.) These arrests of the three lords, a proclamation stated (July 15), were made with the advice of the earls of Rutland, Nottingham,

* We are indebted to the English Historical Society for this valuable and interesting chronicle: translated and edited, with copious notes, by Benjamin Williams, F.S.A.

Kent, Huntingdon, Salisbury, Somerset, lord Despencer, and William le Scrope, with the approval of the dukes of Lancaster and York and earl of Derby; they were caused by *new crimes* (Rymer, viii. 67), which should be declared in the ensuing parliament. In the 6th article of deposition, it was alleged against Richard, that, notwithstanding the proclamation, nothing had been brought against them besides the proceedings of the 10th and 11th Ric. II.

Line 23. *Frensshemenne forto helpe him*.—See Appendix, p. 130. The king had been said to have *intended* calling over the French to help him against his barons; this chronicle says they came!

Line 30. *under colour of borowyng*.—Compare letters of obligation, which were never fulfilled by the king, on account of loans made to him, dated Aug. 10th, 1397. (Rymer, viii. 9-12.) He seems to have borrowed chiefly from religious houses, though private gentlemen accommodated him with large loans. On Aug. 14th (p. 13), the king issued letters to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, directing them to summon a convocation of their clergy on Oct. 1st, to make the king a grant to meet his heavy expenses in defence of the realm. Walsingham (353) says, that rumours were afloat that Richard was to be elected emperor; this may have increased his extravagance.

Last line. *erl of Notyngname, and othir, appellid*.—The appeal of treason against Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick was made by the eight lords mentioned above, in note, line 19, on the feast of St. Oswald the king, Aug. 8th, in the great hall of Nottingham Castle (Rot. Parl. iii. 374), when the king promised them a patient hearing in the parliament, which was to open on 17th September.

Page 9, line 5. *And the duke wroot*. . . —See Appendix, p. 129, &c. The duke of Gloucester had been hurried off to Calais before the middle of July; and on Aug. 17th a commission was directed to sir William Rickhill, one of the judges of the common bench, to take his depositions in prison. (Rot. Parl. iii. 431; Rymer, viii. 13.) At midnight, Sept. 5th, the judge was awoke at Essingham, Kent, by Mulso, a king's messenger,

who brought a writ, ordering him to be at Dover the following evening, to meet the earl marshal. On Friday the earl passed over to Calais; Mulso and Rickhill accompanied him in another ship, Rickhill knowing nothing of what was to be his business. However, at the hour of vespers that day the earl delivered to him the king's commission for examining the duke of Gloucester. The judge objected that the duke was dead, as it was universally believed in England; but on the Saturday morning he was admitted to Gloucester's presence, whom he found well, and in sound mind. He had the precaution to insist upon witnesses to all that passed, and advised the duke to return his answer in writing, and to keep a copy. The duke delivered his answer after the dinner hour the same day, requesting Rickhill to return the next morning, in case he should have remembered anything more to add to his defence. On Sunday morning admission to the castle was refused, and the earl, to whom Rickhill had complained, intimated to him that he would not be allowed to see the duke again. On Tuesday, Sept. 11th, Rickhill was ready to return to England, and before sailing sent a message to the duke, explaining that he had endeavoured to return to him, but had not been permitted: and on Sunday, 16th, the day before parliament met, he presented to the king Gloucester's confession. (Rot. Parl. iii. 379, 430-432.) The day of the unfortunate duke's death we do not know, nor what instructions had been given to the earl marshal, besides delivering the commission to Rickhill. On some day about this time he was smothered with a feather-bed, according to the confession of John Hall, in Parl. 1 Hen. IV. who, for his share in the murder, was executed 17th Oct. 1399, 1 Hen. IV. (Rot. Parl. iii. 452, 453.) However, on Sept. 21st, 1397, a warrant was sent to the earl marshal captain of Calais for bringing Gloucester before parliament for his examination, and on the 24th came the earl's answer, reporting that Gloucester was dead. (Rot. Parl. iii. 377, 378; Rymer, viii. 15, 17.) On Oct. 6th, 1397, Richard directed prayers to be said for his uncle's soul, because he had confessed before his death. (Rymer, viii. 19; Rot. Parl. iii. 409.)

Line 10. *a long and large hous of tymber in the paleis at Westmynstre.*—
 "In the year 1397, the great hall at Westminster, being out of reparations, and therefore new builded by Richard II.: he, having occasion to hold a parliament, caused a large house to be builded in the midst of the palace

court, betwixt the clock-tower and the gate of the old great hall. This house was very large and long, made of timber, covered with tiles, open on both sides and at both ends, that all men might see and hear what was both said and done. The king's archers, in number 4,000 Cheshire men, compassed the house about with their bows bent and arrows notched in their hands, always ready to shoot. They had bouch of court (to wit, meat and drink), and great wages of 6*d.* by the day. The old great hall being new builded, parliaments were again there kept as before, namely, one in the year 1399 for deposing Richard II." (Strype's Stowe's Survey, ii. bk. vi. 49.)

Line 17. *the whiche . . .*—"Sone afterward turned the king to grete losse, shame, hindering, and his utterly undoyng and destruccione." (Rawl. 173.) The rapacity and violence of these Cheshire guards at this parliament were made the 5th article against Richard at his deposition. (Rot. Parl., Knyghton, Tyrrell, Rapin.)

Line 18. *so evir procurid.*—In this parliament, which commenced Sept. 17th, the parliamentary commission of fourteen, constituted in the 10 Ric. II. was declared illegal, and those concerned in it were pronounced traitors; the opinion of the judges at Nottingham on the commission was confirmed; the judgment against M. de la Pole reversed; the Acts of 10 and 11 Ric. II. annulled. (Rot. Parl., Stat. Realm.)

Line 21. *the chartris of pardoun, and . . . the pardoun . . . to the erlle of Arundelle.*—The general pardon extorted by the appellants was revoked (Rot. Parl. iii. 350), and a special pardon granted to the earl of Arundel, dated Windsor, April 30, 1394, 17 Ric. II. (351.)

Line 24. *Also atte supplicacion.*—The Commons petitioned for the royal pardon to be extended to the following members of the late commission:—Duke of York, bishop of Winchester, Richard Scrope, who were then alive; William archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander late archbishop of York, the bishop of Exeter, and Nicholas abbot of Waltham, who were dead. Also for a pardon to the earls of Derby and Nottingham, because they *had deserted* from the duke of Gloucester as soon as they became

aware of his treason, and came honourably to the king. (Rot. Parl. iii. 353.) The chief articles exhibited against Gloucester and the others were, the commission, the assembly at Haringay, death of Burley and proceedings in the parliament of 11 Ric. II., and having at Huntingdon, the Thursday after the feast of saint Nicolas, Dec. 12th, 1387, in the 11th year, purposed the dethroning of the king. Nottingham and Derby may have come to the king with some tale of Gloucester's ambition; but when Gloucester, in the parliament of Feb. 1388, 11 Ric. II. complained to the king that he had been accused of aspiring to the throne, Richard said he disbelieved it.

Page 10, line 23. *Thanne on saint Matthewe; day.*—Sept. 21st. In the "Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of Exchequer" (Sir F. Palgrave), iii. 303-7, is an inventory of goods and chattels belonging to this earl delivered into the treasury by the sheriff of Shropshire. Also (p. 397) a privy seal directing treasurer and chamberlain to deliver the armour of this earl, with the armour of the duke of Gloucester and earl of Warwick, to the keeper of the king's armour in the Tower of London.

Last line. *ser Richard erl of Warwick.*—Thomas Beauchamp (*not* Richard). The earl of Warwick's plea before the parliament, as given p. 11, certainly seems to countenance the relation of the "Chronique de la Traison" about the conspiracy at Arundel: the abbot of St. Alban's and prior of Westminster, as has been already stated, were chief movers in that conspiracy.

Page 11, line 10. *Yle of Mann.*—The Pell Issue Roll of Exchequer contains payment to William le Scrope earl of Wiltshire, treasurer of England, for charges incurred in conducting Thomas late earl of Warwick to the Isle of Man, and for his support there. (Easter, 22 Ric. II.)

Line 19. *he was exilid for euer.*—On the 20th September the Commons petitioned that Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, might be brought to trial, since he had, while chancellor, advised the commission (10 R. II.); had abetted the insurrection of Gloucester (11 R. II.); and the death of Burley and other faithful subjects. The archbishop would have

answered, but the king silenced him, desiring time to consider. On the 25th the Commons prayed for judgment, when the king replied that the archbishop had put himself under his grace. His judgment, therefore, was exile, and confiscation of his temporalities. He was to leave England from Dover within six weeks from St. Michael's Eve. (Rot. Parl. iii. 351; Stowe, 316.) Richard's conduct to the archbishop formed the thirty-third and last article at his deposition. He is charged on all sides with treachery to Arundel: there it is said that, after the archbishop's impeachment by sir John Bussy, he was persuaded by the king to reserve his defence; that for five days the king deceived him, begging him not to come to the parliament, but to remain at home, assuring him that he should receive no injury; that in these circumstances, during his absence, the archbishop had been exiled, and his goods confiscated; that the jewels of his chapel had been appropriated by the king, who had possession of them, as was pretended, to prevent their being seized; that the king had promised that if *obliged* to go into exile he should be recalled at Easter, and that he should not lose his archbishoprick. (Knyghton, Rot. Parl.) Stowe says (316) that the king sent the bishop of Carlisle to forbid Arundel coming to parliament. Arrangements were made for seizing the property of the archbishop, Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, also for arresting their horses. (Issue Roll, Mich. 21 Ric. II.)

Line 32. *Thanne the archbisshoppe took his leve.*—For his farewell, see Appendix, p. 132.

Line 12. *Coumpromitte into xij. diuers persone; continuing the said parlement.*—The "great parliament" was adjourned on Sept. 29th, on which day the creation of peers had taken place. It met again at Shrewsbury, Jan. 28th, 1398, 21 Ric. II., and was dissolved on Jan. 31st, on which day the authority of parliament was given to 18 commissioners for answering petitions still undetermined; 12 peers or 6 of them, 6 commoners or 3 of them. The attempt to repeal any of the statutes made in this parliament was pronounced treason, and the king granted a general pardon in consideration of a subsidy for life. (Rot. Parl. Stat. Realm, ii. 95-107, 110.) The commission thus constituted proceeded, with the connivance of Richard, to further business derogatory to the power of parliament. The

8th article of deposition charges Richard with this, and with having blotted and altered the rolls of parliament to countenance this dangerous precedent. (Knyghton, Rot. Parl.)

Line 28. *drede of men of Londoun and of xviij. shiris.*—Vast sums of money were extorted from these counties, on account of their having been inclined to rise with Gloucester and Arundel. The king threatened to treat them as an enemy's country, unless the lords temporal and the clergy and people of those counties bought his "good grace." The sums of redemption were called "Le pleasance." (Wals. 357; Upod. Neus. 553; Otterb. 199.)

Page 13, line 10. *the duke of Lancastre tolde it to the king.*—On Wednesday, Jan. 30th, the duke of Hereford exhibited to the king, in the parliament at Shrewsbury, a schedule containing an account of a conversation which had passed between the duke of Norfolk and himself in December last; written out in obedience to the king's command, when he had previously accused Norfolk before the king at Haywood. The parliamentary commissioners just constituted were referred to, and the dukes were ordered to appear before the king at Oswestry on Feb. 23; they were then put off till April 28th, and, as no clearer evidence of treason on either side appeared likely to be discovered, it was resolved, as agreed in such a case on March 19th, that they should have the trial by combat at Coventry Sept. 16th. Such is the account on the Rolls. (iii. 382, 383.) On the Issue Roll are payments to messengers and couriers for making proclamation for bishops, barons, knights, and esquires to assemble in all haste at Coventry to witness the duel. (Easter, 21 Ric. II.)

Line 23. *made him swere that he sholde not speke with maister Thomas Arundelle.*—Both dukes were forbidden to communicate with each other, or with archbishop Arundel. (Rot. Parl. iii. 383.) Letters of passage were made out for them on Oct. 3d (Rymer), and they were to be out of the kingdom before the octaves of St. Edward the Confessor. (Rot. Parl. iii. 383.)

Line 29. *blanc chartris.*—These extraordinary powers were extorted

from the city of London and the seventeen counties as a further act of oppression. (Wals. 357; Upod. 553; Otterb. 200.) They are called "Ragmans" on the rolls, and were annulled 1 Hen. IV. (Rot. Parl. iii. 426, 432.)

Page 14, line 14. *an egle of gold*.—The sacred oil so inclosed was given by the Virgin Mary to archbishop Becket to be kept while he was in exile, to comfort him with the knowledge that its virtues should dispose future kings of England to defend all the rights of the Church. After this it was lost for a time, and then discovered by miracle to a holy man, who gave it to the first duke of Lancaster; by him it was given to Edward the Black Prince, that he might be anointed with it on the death of his father Edward III. The prince deposited it in the Tower, where it remained forgotten or unheeded till Richard II. obtained possession of it. Richard carried it over to Ireland with him, with many of the crown jewels; and he was obliged to deliver it up to the archbishop of Canterbury, when just before his deposition he was a prisoner at Chester. This oil was used at the coronation of Henry IV. (Wals. 360, 361.)

Line 28. *Thanne made the king his testament*.—Richard's will is printed in Rymer, viii. 75-77, apparently from an imperfect copy. Another copy is printed in Nichols's Collection of Royal Wills (1780), 191-201, from the original in the Chapter-house, Westminster. It bears date April 16, 1399, 22 Ric. II. There are ample directions for the royal funeral, followed by certain bequests and legacies. The residue of his estate, after payment of just debts, was to go to his successor, provided he confirmed the proceedings of parliament in the 21st and 22d years of his reign; so anxious was Richard to render lasting these late acts. The will was opened, and the clause binding his successor to the late acts at Westminster, Shrewsbury, and Coventry, "full grievous to the realm," formed the 31st article against him at his deposition (Knyghton, Rot. Parl., Rapin); and this notwithstanding a permission given by parliament, 16 R. II., to the king freely to make his will, with the assurance of a due execution of it. (Rot. Parl. iii. 301.) Richard had also procured a papal bull to perpetuate the acts of the 21st and 22d years, and had caused the clergy and people to take oaths to support them. (Lowth's Life of Wickham, 260, &c.)

Line 32. *he wente forth into Yrlond.*—Richard embarked on this fatal journey on May 29th from Milford Haven, and landed at Waterford on the 31st. He was accompanied by the dukes of Aumarle, Exeter, and many other nobles; the abbot of Westminster and several bishops and clergy; and with a vast body of his Cheshire guards. When they were gone England had time to think of her grievances.

Page 15, line 8. *and landid at Ravensporne.*—On July 4th, when Richard had been five weeks in Ireland. He was accompanied by archbishop Arundel, Thomas Fitz-Alan, who had been arrested with his father the earl of Arundel, lord Cobham, and others. Upon landing he was joined by the earl of Northumberland, with his son Hotspur, the earl of Westmerland, &c.; he soon had an army of 60,000 men, and advancing to London was received with acclamation. He then marched to Bristol, to follow Richard's partisans, who intended to escape into Ireland to join him. At Bristol the treasurer Scrope, and Bussy and Green, members of the council, were beheaded on July 29th; Bagot had taken a different line, and fled to Chester. From this place he escaped into Ireland, and was the first to bring the news of the revolution to Richard. (Tyrrell, iii. 997.) This was probably at the beginning of August or the end of July. Stormy weather had prevented vessels passing over to Ireland before that "one ship" which brought the evil tidings. (Creton.) Creton, however, says that the king remained more than eighteen days in Ireland after he heard the news (75, &c.): the "Chronique," that he *directly* prepared himself to pass over to England. (180.)

Line 13. *The duke of York that was lieutenant of Engeland.*—Upon hearing of Henry's landing the duke had ordered sheriffs of counties to collect troops at St. Alban's, where 60,000 archers and many thousand lancers were mustered, according to the author of the "Chronique." (184.) Instead, however, of advancing to meet Henry he marched to Oxford, and thence to Berkeley castle, Gloucestershire, which he reached about the time that Henry, whose movements were rapid, entered Evesham, Worcestershire. Henry followed the duke, and they met in conference in the church at Berkeley on Sunday, 27th July, where they came to an agreement with regard to what should follow in relation to Richard. They

then went down to Bristol, where the castle surrendered to the duke of York, and the executions above mentioned took place. York was left with forces at Bristol and Henry marched northward to Chester: no doubt that both entrances into England might be secured.

Line 26. *Whanne kyng Richard herde telle alle this.*—Richard arrived at Milford Haven on Aug. 13th. ("Cronique de la Traison," 194.) There accompanied him the dukes of Aumarle, Exeter, and Surrey, the earl of Worcester, with other lords, the bishops of London, Lincoln, and Carlisle. The earl of Salisbury had sailed before the king, and landed at Conway for the purpose of gathering troops in North Wales and Cheshire. Richard could travel fast as well as Henry of Lancaster; and, in the dress of a friar (Creton,) at midnight, immediately after his landing, he rode off from the army in company with Exeter, Surrey, and the earl of Gloucester, and others, to the number of fourteen, to join Salisbury at Conway. On arriving they found his army disbanded. Richard then sent Exeter and Surrey to Henry to demand his intentions, and to act as they could for the best. The king himself having first crossed to Beaumaris Castle went westward to Caernarvon, but without finding money or men, or indeed food. Otterbourne says the king fled from castle to castle, among those along the coast of North Wales. (207.) He then waited for the return of his messengers at Conway.

Line 30. *ser Thomas Percy, stiward of the kyngis hous.*—He had been created earl of Worcester, 21 Ric. II. Upon discovery of the king's flight from Milford Haven, the duke of Aumarle and earl of Worcester declared for Henry, and the army immediately broke up. It was at Milford, no doubt, the earl broke his staff of office. (Comp. Wals. 358.) Creton mentions sir Thomas Percy as coming to the king at the castle of Flint, in company with Henry and archbishop Arundel; and Percy, *at that time*, wore the livery of duke Henry (the collar of Esses) and *not* the Hart. (Archæol. xx. 158.) The ceremony of breaking the staff would have been superfluous when he wore Henry's livery. It may be observed, that our English compiler has altered the locality here from *Conway* to *Flint*; the Eulogium has *Conway*: also, that he has added the king's exclamation.

Page 16, line 11. *the duke and maister Thomas Arundel.*—The Eu-

logium places this interview at Conway; the English compiler has altered it to Flint, more happily than in the last instance. Upon receiving Richard's messengers, Henry sent the earl of Northumberland from Chester to Conway to obtain possession of his person. The earl had with him 400 lances and 1000 archers; on his way he took possession of Flint and Rhuddlan castles, and halted his troops in a place concealed by the rocks on the road half-way between Rhuddlan and Conway. He then, with five attendants, rode on by the sea-side to Conway Castle. Admission was granted, as he appeared to be the bearer of the duke's answer to Richard's message. The articles proposed by Henry seemed favourable, and the king agreed to accompany the earl to Flint to a conference with the duke of Lancaster. Northumberland's stratagem succeeded, and on the evening of August 18th Richard found himself a prisoner in Flint castle.

Page 17, line 3. *saide he wolde resigne.*—The king's resignation was at Flint. Mr. Webb (note, Archæol. xx. 139) remarks, that there may have been a design in placing Richard's resignation at Conway (as Wals. Eulogium; Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV.), since *then* he was at liberty, which he was not from the moment he entered Flint castle. Though Richard became a prisoner half-way between Conway and Rhuddlan, his arrest is said to have taken place at Flint. (Rot. Parl. v. 463, &c.) Richard was taken to Chester. From thence a proclamation was made by the king, evidently under constraint, dated August 20th, Chester (Rymer, viii. 84), in favour of the duke of Lancaster. On the third day, Henry, with the royal captive, began his march to London. The first night they slept at Nantwich, the second at Newcastle-under-Lyne, the fourth at Lichfield, when the king nearly effected his escape. On the last of the month the king seems to have slept at Westminster; the next day he was removed to the securer confinement of the Tower. (See Stowe, 322, 323.)

Line 6. *And afterward, in the vigile of saint Mighelle.*—The rolls of parliament, however, place Richard's resignation, the promise of which he was said to have given at *Conway*, on Monday, Sept. 29th, in presence of the duke of Lancaster, lords de Roos, de Wiloghby, Bergavenny, &c. (iii. 416, 417.)

Line 26. *Aftir this the duke wente to Westmynstre.*—On Tuesday, the feast of St. Jerome, Sept. 30th, the parliament met in Richard's name. Richard's resignation, read in Latin and English, was accepted: thirty-three articles were exhibited against him, to show how he had broken his coronation oath. After this the sentence of deposition was pronounced by eight representatives of the different grades of the nation; by the bishop of St. Asaph for the archbishops and bishops; abbot of Glastonbury for abbots and priors, and the clergy generally; earl of Gloucester for dukes and earls; lord Berkeley for barons and bannerets; sir Thomas de Erpingham and Thomas Grey for the bachelors and commons: sir John Markham and William Thirnyng for the judges. (Rot. Parl. iii. 417, 422)

Line 30. *he sate down in his fader sete.*—He took his seat as duke of Lancaster. The "Eulogium" mentions the presence of the bishop of Carlisle, Thomas Merks, but says nothing of his speech in favour of Richard: "Ponebat se in sede patris sui juxta episcopum Carlioli." The "Chronique de la Traison" gives the bishop's protest; and, if it is the chief authority for it, we must be cautious, as Mr. Williams observes, in rejecting the testimony of a contemporary. Creton, however (Archæol. xx.), says that Richard's partisans dared not say a word in his favour.

Page 18, line 7. *dampned the said king Richard to perpetuelle prisoun.*—This is misplaced. In the parliament which commenced Oct. 6th, 1 Hen. IV. a question was asked by the archbishop of Canterbury, on the part of the king, on Thursday Oct. 23rd, what was to be done with Richard, "*sauvant sa vie, quele le roi voet que luy soit sauvez en toutes maneres?*" He was to be safely guarded, it was replied, in some secret place, where none of his old associates should have access to him. On the following Monday, Oct. 29th, Richard was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, in manner prescribed. (Rot. Parl.)

Line 9. *how he descendid and cam down lynealli of kyng Harri, the sone of kyng Johan.*—See note on page 7, line 23, at p. 152.

Line 13. *Thanne aroo; the archbisshoppis of Cauntirbury and of York.*—After Henry's claim, the archbishops led him to the throne; Arundel

made a sermon, "Vis dominabitur," &c. in Latin, which is on the Rolls. Henry made a protest against being considered merely a conqueror of the throne; and the coronation day was fixed for Oct. 13, the Translation of St. Edward Confessor. On the day after these proceedings, Wednesday Oct. 1st, a deputation went to Richard in the Tower, and justice Thirnyng, in a long speech, told him he was deposed. Richard answered that he no longer looked for allegiance, "but he sayde that after all this he hopyd that his cosyn wolde be a goode lord to hym." (Rot. Parl. iii. 423, 424.)

Line 16. *colacion*.—A discourse, sermon. This colacion is in Knyghton, Rot. Parl., Fabyan, &c.

Page 19, line 21. *made ser Roger Waldenne . . . bisshop of London*.—Walden had descended from his archbishopric on Henry's accession, and on Oct. 30th the duke of York and earl of Northumberland prayed that Arundel might be enabled to recover damages from him. Walden was a learned man. He became secretary to Richard II., dean of York, treasurer of Calais, treasurer of England, archbishop of Canterbury, and remained primate for two years: he was made bishop of London, after being without a bishopric, on Dec. 10th, 1404 (not as in text). He died within a year of his appointment. (Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops.)

Page 20, line 6. *cam thider vnto him the duke of Aumarle*.—The date in the text is too late. On Jan. 5th, the sheriffs of London were enjoined to seize the person of Thomas earl of Kent, John earl of Huntingdon, or any of their adherents; on the 6th, letters were sent to Peter Courtney, captain of Calais, empowering him to arrest any of the insurgents who might attempt to land at Calais or on the coast of Picardy. (Rymer, viii. 120.) According to the interesting narrative of the "Chronique," Aumarle was dining with his father, the duke of York, on Sunday Jan. 3rd, when he received a letter from the conspirators, which the duke desired to see. As soon as he discovered the contents, York cried, "Saddle the horses directly. Hey! thou traitor thief! thou hast been traitor to king Richard, and wilt thou be false to thy cousin Henry? Thou knowest I am thy pledge-borrow, body for body. By St. George! I had rather thou shouldst be

hung than I!" He rode off for Windsor with his son's letter; and the son, seeing his only course, passed the duke, who was "heavy," on the road, and arriving first disclosed the conspiracy. (*Chronique*, 233, &c.) According to Creton, Aumarle voluntarily showed the letter to the duke of York, who sent him on to the king. (*Archæol.* xx. 211.) The "Eulogium" gives *only* the story which follows in the text. Holinshed has followed the "*Chronique*;" Stowe, Creton.*

Line 27. *the kyng rood to Londoun*.—Immediately upon the arrival of the duke of York with the letter confirming what the king had heard from his son. On his way he was met by the mayor, hastening to warn him that the lords had taken the field with 6,000 men. A proclamation was issued calling upon faithful subjects to join the king's standard, and by the next morning, Jan. 5th, 16,000 men were paid and ready. (*Chronique*.)

Page 21, line 3. *But as sone as the said lordez*, &c.—On the evening of Jan. 4th the insurgents, with 400 men, entered Windsor Castle, and, finding the king had escaped, withdrew to Sunning, near Reading, where they persuaded the queen that Richard had escaped from Pontefract. The "*Chronique*" relates a skirmish between the king's troops and the insurgents at Maidenhead Bridge, with a threat of Henry to put Richard to death if he found him among the rebels. However, on the night of Jan. 6th they were at Cirencester, having passed through Wallingford, Abingdon, Farringdon; they said by the way that Richard had escaped, and had dressed up Maudelain to personify him. Creton says he was exactly like king Richard. It surely must have been after the interview with the queen: she would not have consented to such deception. At Cirencester the lords were attacked by the mayor and townspeople, in obedience to the king's writ just received: the "*Chronique*" says at the instance of an archer of king Henry's—perhaps the royal messenger. Kent and Salisbury were beheaded; the earl of Huntingdon, lord Despencer, and Maude-

* Creton's narrative of the revolution by Henry of Lancaster and the deposition of Richard, &c. has been translated, with plentiful notes and historical excursions, by Rev. John Webb, in *Archæologia*, xx. Creton was an ardent admirer of Richard; he tells us he loved the king because he dearly loved the French.

lain set fire to some houses in hope of diverting attention from themselves, and escaped. (Creton, Otterb., Stowe.)

Line 15. *At Oxenforde*.—These executions, with others to the number of twenty-six, took place at Oxford on Jan. 11th. (Stowe, 325.)

Line 17. *at Pritwelle, in Essex, &c*—In Rymer (viii. 120) is an order to the constable of the Tower for confining John earl of Huntingdon: he does not, however, appear to have been received there, but to have been captured in his flight, at the house of "John Pritewelle of Prittlewell," in Essex, by order of the countess of Hereford, and to have been executed at Pleshy by her command. (*Chronique de la Traison*, 252, and App. A, 269.)

Line 22. *at Bristowe, &c*.—Lord Despencer had fled to Cardiff Castle, which was his property, and intended to escape beyond sea. He embarked in a vessel, but the sailors had been bribed, or were aware of the value that would be set upon him, and he was carried, in spite of entreaties, to Bristol, where he was immediately executed. (Evesham, 166, 167.)

Line 25. *Whanne kyng Richard herde alle this*.—See Suppl. Add. The "Eulogium" states that this insurrection was in obedience to Richard's commands given at Conway. At that time the king had no idea of being deposed, and it is scarcely likely that he would have planned a revolution on a probability. He had no opportunity at Flint. It was an advantage to the lords to be considered as acting for the king; and we must remember that they had all been degraded (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 452), had gained nothing, and lost much by Henry's accession. The use of Richard's name had enabled them to send to the king of France for assistance. (Rymer, viii. 165.)

Line 27. *for sorow and hunger he died in the castle of Pountfret*.—This English chronicle from the "Eulogium" is one more authority for the story of Richard's voluntary starvation. Walsingham (363), Evesham (169), Otterb. (228), *Hist. Croyland Continuatio* (Gale, i. 495), have given this version of his death. Creton, the former page of Richard, gives it as the

general report, but believes that he is still alive. (Archæol. xx. 219.) Yet a few passages on he proves that he was by no means certain of it. It is to be regretted that this chronicle throws no new light upon the controversy respecting the fate of Richard; but it shows very clearly the general uncertainty and excitement which prevailed on the subject. (See pp. 23-26, &c.; Appendix, 135, 136.)

Last line. *buried at Langley*.—Stowe, following Walsingham no doubt, places Richard's death on Feb. 14th. It may have been a few days later. (See Acts of Council, 1 H. IV. 1400, and sir H. Nicolas's remarks.) The body of Richard—or, as Creton thought, of Maudelain, Richard's chaplain—had been exhibited at St. Paul's on March 12th. (Chronique, 261.) The funeral services were performed at St. Paul's in the presence of the king and people, and the body was then carried to Langley to be buried in the church of the Preaching Friars. There the office was performed by the bishop of Chester, the abbot of St. Alban's, and the abbot of Waltham, "sine magnatum præsentia, sine populari turbâ, nec erat qui eos invitaret ad prandium post laborem (!)" Wals. (364), Otterb. (229).

Page 22, line 2. *ser Johan Maudeleyn*.—Maudelain, Richard's chaplain, certainly suffered death before the end of January, probably before the month was drawing to a close.

Line 5. *none ascapil, save onli ser Roger Waldenne*.—Walden and Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle, were committed to the Tower on Jan. 10 (Rymer, viii. 121); but Walden was soon liberated, with the abbot of Westminster, as they could satisfactorily refute the charges of being concerned in the conspiracy. (Otterb. 228.) Merks, upon Henry's accession, had been committed a prisoner to the abbey of St. Alban's, and was pardoned upon being deprived of his bishopric in November, by being translated to the isle of Samos (Godwin). After the Kingston insurrection he remained incarcerated until Jan. 26th, 1401, when he was committed to the Marshalsea; but, upon strength of a pardon granted him Nov. 28, 1400 (Rymer, viii. 165), was soon set at liberty. He retired to his own monastery of Westminster (Evesh.), and in 1404 was presented by the abbot and convent to the rectory of Todenham, Gloucestershire. (Carte, ii. 648.)

Line 6. *quene Ysabelle*.—Immediately upon Henry's accession ambassadors had arrived from France, in Oct. 1399, demanding the restoration of Isabella with her jewels, according to the marriage treaty. Henry endeavoured to negotiate a marriage between Isabella and the prince of Wales, or between any other of his children and Charles's children. After many delays Isabella arrived at Boulogne, Aug. 1st, 1401. (Rymer; Acts of Council.) Her dowry was not considered due, since she was under 12 years of age; but the council decided that her jewels should go with her. Many had been distributed among the royal children. (Acts of Council, 134; Sir H. Nicolas's Preface.) Some of her valuables were kept back, since in a treaty between Charles VI. and Henry V. the latter was to pay a sum of money in lieu of the jewels detained. (Rapin, i. 523.) The passage of the royal suite to Boulogne and back cost 79*l*. (Issue Roll, Easter, 3 Hen. IV.)

Line 11. *erl of Dunbar*.—George Dunbar, earl of March, in consequence of a private feud with Robert III. In Rymer is the indenture of alliance, dated July 25th, 1400. The castle and lordship of Somerton, Lincolnshire, were to be the earl's; also the manor of Clippeston, Sherwood Forest, for life. (viii. 153, 154.)

Line 14. *Oweyn off Glendore*.—Born May 28th, 1354, or, as some say, 1349. Holinshed relates the story of blood in his father's stables on the night of his birth, which is in this chronicle told of Edmund Mortimer. (See Speed.) He entered the Inns of Court and became a barrister. Afterwards he entered the service of the earl of Arundel, and then of Richard II. After his revolt he pretended to regal dignity, and made an alliance with the king of France. Glyndwr and lord Grey had had a law-suit about a certain common in the time of Richard II., which lord Grey lost; but upon the accession of Henry, trusting to his power at court, he seized the common; hence the quarrel. (See Thomas's Memoir of Glyndwr.)

Line 21. *emperour of Constantinople*.—Manuel Palæologus crossed from France in December, 1400. He was endeavouring to raise the Western powers against Bajazet emperor of the Turks. He had before sent ambassadors to the courts of Europe, and Richard II. had made him a grant of

£2000. (Issue Roll, Easter, 21 Ric. II.) Henry IV. was just to him if not generous, and paid what might have been considered as due from Richard. (Mich. 2 Hen. IV.) The emperor was poor, and satisfied with one boat on his way back to Calais, and Henry paid the hire, which was ten marks. (Easter, 3 Hen. IV.) During his stay in England the emperor had mass celebrated daily in his own house after the Greek ritual. (Eulogium.)

Line 26. *the Walshmenne began to rebelle.*—The national antipathy was strong. When the bishop of St. Asaph intreated the parliament (1 Hen. IV.) not altogether to despise Glyndwr, the answer he received, according to the "Eulogium," was "*se de scurris nudipedibus non curare*;" in our English text, "they saide they set noujt be him." Glyndwr had the right on his side, but could find no redress from Henry's parliament. The laws of the early part of this reign were not conciliatory towards the Welsh. By stat. 2 Hen. IV. Jan. 1401, no person born in Wales of Welsh parentage could purchase land or tenement in or near the cities in the Marches of Wales: he could not henceforth receive the freedom of any city or borough. All Welsh citizens were to produce security for their conduct: they were not to be admitted to any municipal office, nor to wear armour in their town or borough. (Stat. Realm, ii. 124.) No Welshman might purchase land in England, &c. (129.) By stat. 4 Hen. IV., Sept. 30, 1402, Englishmen could not be tried by a Welsh jury in Wales; minstrels, rhymers, wasters, and *other vagabonds*, were condemned; meetings were not allowed; no Welshman might carry arms: Welshmen were not to have castles; the fortresses were to be manned by English; even Englishmen married to Welshwomen were prohibited from bearing office in Wales or the Marches. (140, 141.) Thomas (Memoir of Glyndwr) archly quotes this law as a proof that the dreadful stories told by Otterbourne, and other English writers, of the atrocities of the Welsh women must be calumnies.

Page 23, line 3. *lord Grey wedde on of his doughtris.*—According to Dugdale this Reginald lord Grey married, 1. Margaret d. of William lord Roos; 2. Joanna d. and heir of William lord Astley. (Bar. i. 717.) Where also see his ransom. (Rymer, viii. 279; Otterb. 238.) According to the Welsh writers he married Glyndwr's daughter Jane. (Thomas's Memoirs of Glyndwr, 51.) So also Carte. (ii. 654.) He was taken prisoner

early in 1402. This chronicle is an independent authority for his having married Glyndwr's daughter. The "Eulogium" is silent on the point.

Page 24, line 31. *lewde*.—Unlearned, ignorant.

Line 31. *the moister*.—This Master of Divinity confessed that he had been a rash interpreter of prophecy, and to that he attributed all his misfortunes. (Eulogium.) He meant, no doubt, the prophecy of Merlin.

Line 25. *saw*.—Relate, say.

Line 32. *seche him in Scotland*.—The account Henry IV. wished to be believed of the pretended Richard in Scotland is evident from stat. 5 Hen. IV. cap. 15, in which there are excluded from a general pardon "William Serle, Thomas Warde de Trumpyngton qui se pretende et feigne d'estre Roy Richard, et Amye Donet." (Stat. Realm, ii. 148.) Part of the earl of Cambridge's conspiracy in the 3 Hen. V. was said to have been the purposing to bring forward Thomas de Trumpyngton, an idiot, to personify Richard II. (Rot. Parl. iv. 65.) According to the Scotch chronicler, Bower, the continuer of Fordun, Richard escaped from Pontefract, and was recognised in the kitchen of Donald lord of the Isles by one who had formerly been his jester. Donald presented him to Robert III., who maintained him in seclusion. After Robert's death, the duke of Albany, the regent, became his patron. At last he died himself, in the castle of Stirling, and was buried in the church there. (Bower, in Fordun, 1068, 1133.) He wrote after 1441. (Lingard.) Wyntown, who wrote about 1420, cannot explain how Richard escaped from Pontefract, but says he was recognised by an Irish lady who had seen him in Ireland, in spite of his altered appearance, &c. (388, 389.) He mentions his living under the knowledge of the duke of Albany, but *no one was certain* whether he had been the king or no. Mr. Fraser Tytler's hypothesis of Richard's escape to Scotland is discussed by Mr. Williams in his Introduction to the Chronicle, p. lii. &c.

Page 26, line 1. *seche king Richard in Walis*.—So uncertain were the reports about him. Reports of Richard being alive in Wales must tend

to weaken the credit which has been given to those of his having escaped to Scotland, which the Scotch historians favoured. Richard was said to be at Chester at the head of an army just before the open rebellion of the Percies.

Line 30. *Edmund Mortimer wedded on of Owenez douztris.*—Edmund Mortimer's marriage with Glyndwr's daughter does not appear by any means certain from the Welsh historians (see Thomas's Memoir of Glyndwr, 52; also Carte, ii. 658), yet English writers make no doubt of it. Great confusion exists between this Edmund Mortimer, prisoner in Wales, and his nephew, Edmund earl of March, son and heir of Roger, who was killed in Ireland, 1398, 22 Ric. II. Edmund earl of March and his brother Roger were confined in Windsor Castle on Henry's accession. On Feb. 14, 1405, lady Despencer, widow of lord Despencer, late earl of Gloucester, procured their liberation by means of false keys, and hurried them off to join Glyndwr, but they were quickly retaken, and remained captives. Edmund Mortimer, uncle to Edmund earl of March, was taken prisoner by Owen, June 1402, perhaps married his daughter, and espoused his cause about the end of the same year. Henry would not allow him to be ransomed; lord Grey's imprisonment he bore less quietly.

Page 29, line 7 and note.—The origin of the date in the "Chronicle" appears to be the following verses quoted in the "Eulogium:"—"De quo quidem conflictu quidam metricè sic scripsit:

"Anno milleno, quater et centesimo, bino,
Bellum Salopie fuit in Mag. nocte Marie."

Hardyng was in the battle, and gives the true date. The real cause of the rebellion of the Percies is no doubt correctly given by our author (page 27, line 12). In their defiance of Henry (Hardyng, Hall, Grafton, Hered. Right) they proclaim their intention of restoring the throne to the right line—to the earl of March; also that their former support of Henry was in consequence of his oath to them at Doncaster, that he only intended to recover his rights, nothing in prejudice of Richard II.; that, nevertheless, he had starved him to death, keeping him fifteen days and nights without food; that he had refused to allow the ransom of Edmund

Mortimer. In spite of this declaration of Richard's death, they had taken advantage of the popular belief to raise the larger forces in Cheshire (page 28), and their use of the badge of the hart shows that they wished to appear engaged in a disinterested quarrel. In the "Acts of Privy Council" are some very interesting letters from the Percies, dating from April 10, 1401, to June 26, 1403, less than four weeks before the rebellion. In these letters they demand payment for their guardianship of the east and west marches—the king underrates the importance of the marches—should anything happen, which God forbid, it would not be their fault—their personal property was spent in paying the king's debt, and they could not bear the continual demands the soldiers were making upon them: the last letter is a strong *demand* for payment from the earl. The "Issue Roll" contains the payment of a few small sums to the earl and Hotspur during this time. The rebellion came very suddenly upon the king. A letter to the council from Higham Ferrers (co. Northamp.), July 10th, shows that he was ignorant of any threatened rebellion—he was going "*vers le parties d'Escoce pour ye donner aide et confort a noz trescheres et foialx cousins le conte de Northumb. et Henry son filz contre les Escotz noz enemys.*" From Burton-on-Trent he writes, July 17th, that he has just heard that Henry Percy calls him nothing but "Henry of Lancaster," and has made proclamation in Cheshire that Richard is alive. Four days more and the battle was ended. Henry's frequent promises, without any chance of fulfilment, exasperated the Percies.

Line 15. *so he cam to the parlement.*—To throw suspicion from himself, the earl had agreed in August, at Pontefract, to surrender his castles to the king. (Nicolas's Privy Council, i. 211.) He submitted himself to the king at York: and on Wednesday, February 5th, urged that submission before parl. 5 Hen. IV. 1404, and again on Feb. 7th; when the lords gave judgment that he had only been guilty of a trespass, and therefore must submit to a fine. He then exonerated the duke of York, archbishop of Canterbury, and other suspected persons, from being concerned in the rebellion. (Rot. Parl. iii. 524.)

Line 29. *dame Blanche.*—To Master John Chaundeler, clerk, appointed treasurer to Blanch. In money paid to him by Richard Clifford,

clerk, junior, for 10 cloths of gold and other merchandise purchased of Richard Willington, citizen and merchant of London, 215*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and by Wm. Cromer, clothier, of the said city, 380*l.* for apparel and paraphernalia of the said Blanche, in her voyage to Cologne to be married to the son of the king of the Romans. By writ, &c. 595*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (Devon's Issue Roll, Easter, 3 Hen. IV.) On May 15 the king wrote to the council from Berkhamstead, complaining that the money assigned for the expenses to be incurred on his daughter's passage had been paid in another direction; he begs it may be refunded, for he can stand no expenses himself. (Acts of Council.) Nor were preparations for his own marriage very liberal. On Dec. 9, 1402, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Lincoln, who, with the escort appointed to meet Joanna of Navarre, was waiting in Plymouth harbour, wrote to the king from thence, complaining of the non-payment of the wages of the mariners and soldiers. (Acts of Council, i. 189.)

Line 31. *Richard Clifford*.—At this time bishop of Worcester: translated to London Oct. 13, 1407. In 1414 he was at the Council of Constance, when he preached in Latin before the emperor. He was among the thirty persons added to the electing body of cardinals on this occasion, and nominated cardinal Colonna for the papacy, who was elected under the title of Martin V. Clifford died Aug. 20, 1421. (Gibson's Catalogue, 200.)

Page 30, line 1. *duke; son of Beyre*.—Lewis, surnamed Barbatus, son and heir of Rupert or Robert, emperor of Germany, count palatine of the Rhine, and duke of Bavaria.

Line 6. *yle of Cogent*.—Cadsand, Holland. *Carrake; carrack*, a large merchant vessel. *Jene*, Genoa.

Line 18. *the Camer beside Wynchilse*.—Camber, now called Rye, harbour. The sea formerly washed below the foot of Camber Castle, now a mile or more inland. The outline of this coast is much altered. From stat. 2 and 3 Ed. VI. cap. 30, 1548, we find that the old harbour could contain 200 or 400 sail of ships, . . . and being there, might not only issue out at all times to encounter their enemies, but also in times of stormy winds

might have had rescue and good harbour, to the great safeguard of the king's ships and merchants passing to and fro upon the narrow seas; yet now, not only the said harbour and road called the Camber, but also all the "inne creekes nere unto Rye and Wynchelsey," partly by occasion of casting ballast into the same harbour and creeks, and partly "bycause dyvers mershes inped take in no water to scower the channell, but lett oute the freshe water at guttes, so that the channell there is so choked, swared, and fyllyd uppe," that not more than thirty or forty vessels can lie there without danger. (Stat. Realm, iv. 72.) In spite of precaution the harbour became choked, and a new one was made in 1726, which also became useless. The new harbour is nearly on the site of the old. (Haydn's Dic.)

Line 9. *canted*.—Sold by auction.

Line 12. *Johan Serle*.—*William*, not *John*, Serle; he was present at the murder of Gloucester (Rot. Parl. iii. 453); and was excepted out of a general pardon, Jan. 5, Hen. IV. 1404 (544).

Line 29. *like to king Richard, but it was not he*.—Cum adhuc non quievit rumor ille de vitâ ejus, semper Scoti illum rumorem auxerunt. (Eulogium.)

Page 31, line 11. *the cause of the said risyng*.—Probably much as given here: lord Mowbray had been deprived of his hereditary office of earl marshal, and the earl of Northumberland of the guardianship of the Marches: the earl of Westmerland had stepped into both. Henry IV. was at Worcester when suspicion was first aroused by a letter from the council. They wrote that they had heard from John of Lancaster, the king's son, that lord Bardolf, who had been ordered to join the king in the Welsh marches, had taken himself off to the North. They had despatched chief justice Gascoigne and lord Roos to the North to frustrate any evil that might arise. And, as they knew the king was poor, they sent him 1000 marks. (Acts of Council.) On the 28th May the king acquainted them from Derby of the truth of the insurrection, and bids them hasten to Pontefract with all the followers they can collect. On

July 2nd the king wrote, relating his success, from Warkworth Castle, which, formerly belonging to the earl of Northumberland, had surrendered to him the day before. He was about to attack Alnwick. (Acts of Council.)

Page 33, line 6. *beheddid withoute the cite of York*.—See Appendix. Clement Maydestone gives a different account of the archbishop's execution. (See the Abps. Articles, &c., and Martyrdom, Anglia Sacra, ii. 369-372; Cotton. MS. Vesp. E vii. f. 94-101; Foxe's Acts and Monuments.) The concluding words of the archbishop given in the text are not in the "Eulogium."

Line 17. *many grete miracles*.—Usque hodie mirabiliter operatur. (Eulogium; see Anglia Sacra, ii. 371-2.) The last sentence of the "Eulogium" gives an account of the success of a prayer to St. Richard (Scrope), in stopping a fire which had broken out in a belfry near York.

Line 27. *the pope answerde*.—It is to be feared that our English compiler was himself the author of this answer. It is not in the "Eulogium." Whether the *king* was given to witticisms we need not inquire.

Page 34, line 3. *dame Luce . . . weddid . . . ser Edmund erl of Kent*.—"With moche solempnyte and moche worship, for kyng Harry was ther hymselfe, and gave her at the chirche dore. And when mes was doone the kyng hymselfe ladde that lady home to the bisshoppes place of Wynchestre, and ther was a wonder grete fest to al maner of peple that thedre wolde come." (MS. Rawl. 190, f. 152.) Jan. 24. (Fabyan, sub ann.)

Line 6. *ser Robert Knollis*.—Robert, not Ricardus: famous under Edward III., especially at the battle of Poitiers. He accompanied the Black Prince into Spain, 41 Ed. III. in aid of Don Pedro; in 44 Ed. III. was general of forces then sent into France; 1 Ric. II. governor of Brest Castle; 3 Ric. II. aided the duke of Britany against the French; 4 Ric. II. suppressed Jack Straw's insurrection; 8 Ric. II. defeated a conspiracy for murdering sir Nicholas Brember, mayor; seneschal of Guicenne early in

Hen. IV ; founded a college, &c. at Pontefract ; built bridge at Rochester ; founded an hostelry for English strangers at Rome ; enlarged house of the Carmelites, White Friars, London, where he was buried with Constance his wife. He died Aug. 15. (Dugdale, B. ii. 412 ; Stowe, 334-5 ; Carte, 571, &c.) The example of Robert Knollis was commended by Caxton, at the end of his "Ordre of Chivalry," to the imitation of the knights of his day ; instead of "going to the baynes and playing at dice." (See Dibdin's Typograph. Antiq. 225-228.)

Line 8. *ser Thomas Rempstoun*.—He was Constable of the Tower, Admiral of the West, and Knight of the Garter ; drowned by an accident at London Bridge, 7 Hen. IV. (Fabyan ; Rawl. 190.) Stowe mentions a Sir Thomas Rampton as vice-chamberlain to Henry IV. ; and sailing in company with him from Queenborough, Sheppey, into Essex, to avoid passing through London, where pestilence raged, he was taken prisoner by the French, in the summer of 1406.

Line 11. *dame Philippe the yonger, douȝtir of king Harri*.—She was married to Eric, associated with his great-aunt Margaret in the throne of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. Sole monarch in 1412. Fabyan places her departure from England in May. The marriage was celebrated at Lunden, according to Pontanus, as late as Oct. 25 the same year, 1406 (Rapin, 498) : but on July 28th Richard Clifford, junior, clerk of the wardrobe to the lady Philippa, the king's daughter, queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, was paid 248*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* for pearls and cloth of gold purchased at the time of the marriage. (Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Hen. IV.) The marriage may have been splendid, but the Danish historians must be wrong in supposing Philippa brought Eric a large fortune. (See Univ. Hist. xxxii. 299.)

Line 13. *Edmund Courteneye*.—*Richard*, not *Edmund*. He was chancellor of Oxford, not bishop till 1413. (Gibson.)

Line 17. *the Walssh clerc*.—Nov. 8 Hen. IV., Fabyan. But in Issue Roll, Mich. 3 Hen. IV., March 14th, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* were paid to the earl of Westmerland, marshal of England (so made 1 Hen. IV.), for appointing

lists at Smithfield for a duel between Yevan appe Griffithe Lloyt, appellant, and Perceval Soudan, knt., defendant, respecting certain articles of treason.

Line 30. *quarel*.—An arrow with a square head, (*quarellus*, *quadrillus*, from *quadrum*.) *Briac*.—St. Brieux.

Page 35, line 2 and note.—Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, Henry Chicheley, then bishop of St. David's, and Thomas Chillingdon, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, were sent by the convocation at London to the council of Pisa. Hallam was chancellor of Oxford in 1403; was made cardinal June 1411. He died while at the council of Constance, Sept. 4, 1417. (See the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. 430–437.) The council of Pisa lasted from March 25 to August 7, 1409. It excommunicated the rival popes Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and elected Peter de Candia, cardinal of Milan, as pope, at 70 years of age, by the name of Alexander V., June 26th. (Onuphrius in Platina.)

Page 37, line 4. *his other son John, duke of Bedford*.—A mistake: the creation is rightly placed in *margin*, p. 40, in the 2 Hen. V., and by the same hand. His creation bears date from May 6, 1414, 2 Hen. V. Until then he was styled John de Lancaster. (Dugd. Bar. ii. 200.)

Line 6. *the duke of Aumarle he made duke of York*.—The dukedom of Aumarle was never restored to the earl of Rutland; and he had succeeded his father as duke of York Aug. 1, 1402. He is called duke of York by our author before this, under 1405. See page 34.

Line 9. *Hoggis*. La Hogue.

Line 10. *the lorde Hambe*.—*Hamby*, Rawl. 173; *Aumbes*, Rawl. 190; *Hambo*, Polychron., &c. The lorde de *Hambre* was employed by the king and Burgundians against the Armagnacs (Monstrel. i. lxxxv.): and the lord de *Rambures*, master of the cross-bows, was sent to stop the ravages of the English reinforced garrison of Calais (Mons. i. xevii.) this year, 1412. Perhaps one of these is intended.

Line 16. *ser Johan Beaufort, erl of Dorset*.—A mistake: *John* Beaufort, eldest son of John of Ghent by Katharine Swynford, was created earl of Somerset 20 Ric. II., and *marquis* of Dorset, and *marquis* of Somerset, 21 Ric. II.: he was captain of Calais, and died on Palm Sunday, March 16, 1410, 11 Hen. IV. *Thomas* Beaufort, youngest son of John of Ghent, was chancellor of England 11 Hen. IV., and in 13 Hen. IV. (as in the text) was advanced to the title of earl of Dorset: and in 4 Hen. V. created duke of Exeter for life. (Dugd. Bar. ii. 121-125.)

Line 30. *entrete him to resigne the croune to prince Harri*—This the king refused, and although “*horribiliter aspersus leprâ, statim equitavit per magnam partem Angliæ, non obstante leprâ supradictâ.*” (Eulogium.) Compare the interview between the king and prince. (Stowe, 339-341; also Shakspere, Henry IV. Part II. Act 4, Scenes 10 and 11.)

Page 38, line 4. *gyburied in Crichirche of Countirbury*.—Henry IV. died on Monday, March 20th, 1413, in the fourteenth year of his reign. (Sir H. Nicolas's Chronology; Stowe, &c.) His body was conveyed by water to Feversham, and from thence by land to Canterbury, “*with moche torchelichte,*” where he was buried in the cathedral. (Rawl. 190, &c.) Clement Maydestone gives a strange story, which he heard a person tell his father Thomas Maydestone, that as the body of king Henry was being carried by water to Feversham a storm arose, and the body was thrown into the sea by this stranger and two others, and the waves subsided upon the body being thrown out. The storm scattered the eight boats containing members of the nobility which followed in procession, and these men carried the splendid coffin on to Canterbury where it was buried. Hence the monks say, “*The sepulchre of Henry IV. is with us, but his body is not.*” (Anglia Sacra, ii. 372.)

Page 39, line 7. *translatid his body fro Langley unto Westmynstre*.—We slander the noble character of Henry V. if we do not take this as a proof that he believed in the *death* of Richard. Henry feared no enemy, and had released the earl of March, who had been prisoner all his father's reign. Issue Roll, Mich. 1 Hen. V., Feb. 20, contains payment for a

"horsbere," a coffin, and other necessary things for the removal of the body of Richard late king of England, 4*l*.

Line 15. *Fikettis feld*.—"In quendam campum, vocatum Fykettefelde, non procul a Westmonasterio." (Elmham, 31.) In Issue Roll, Mich. 1 Hen. V., are payments for the arrest of Lollards: especially to one constable for seizing Lollard books in the house of a *parchment-maker*; another for searching the house of William, the *parchment-maker*, in Smithfield, where sir John Oldcastle dwelt.

Line 21. *parlement at Westmynstre*.—This parliament commenced Nov. 19th, at Westminster: there had been a parliament before this year at Leicester, April 30.

Page 40, line 22. *Kitcaux*.—The old district of Caux lay on the right bank of the Seine, and took its name from the ancient Caletes. It included that triangle of country formed with the British Channel and the Seine, by drawing a straight line from St. Valery on the coast to Meulan on the Seine. "There is a point which advances into the sea, called the Cape of Caux." (Brice's Geog. Dic.) Stowe fixes the landing at "Kedicaux, in Normandie, which is betwixt Hereflete (Harfleur) and Humflete (Honfleur); scarcely three leagues (so Elmham) from Hereflete." Kitcaux is universally named as the place in the "Brute" Chronicles.

Line 25. *commaundid his gonners to bete down the wallis*.—"And there he plaid at tenys * with them that were in the towne . . . and alas that eny soche ballis (*i.e.* gon-stonys) were made, and cursid the tyme that ever they were begon!" (Rawl. 190, f. 156 b. &c.; Chronicles of King Henry V., Claudius A. viii. &c.) Guns had been in partial use from about 13 Ed. III. (Bree's Cursory Sketch, i. 136); yet, according to Speed, they were first used in England at the siege of Berwick Castle by

* Alluding to the present of tennis-balls said to have been sent by the Dauphin to Henry. "Somewhat in scorn he sent to the kyng a tonful of tenys ballis, for to play him withal and his lordis, and said that hit become hym better than to mayntayne ouy werr." (Rawl. 190, &c.; see Poem on the Siege of Harflet and Battle of Agyncourt, Hearne's Elmham, 359)

Henry IV., 1405 (p. 775), where the discharge of one large piece of ordnance caused the surrender of the fortress. (Also Stowe, 333; see Appendix, p. 140.)

Page 41, line 3. *watir of Swerdis*.—So Ashmole, 791, &c. “The river of Ternoise, called the river of *Swords*.” (Tyler’s Henry V. ii. 163.)

Line 23. *every Englishe manne knelid down, and put a litille porcion of erthe in his mouthe*.—“In remembrance that they were mortal, and made of earth, as also in remembrance of the Holy Communion.” (Stowe, 349.)

Page 42, line 7. *erl of Narbonne*.—“The earl of Naverne.” (Claudian, A. viii. &c.) “The count de *Nevers*, brother to the duke of Burgundy.” (Monstr.) A few months after this, count de *Narbonne*, as admiral of the French fleet, attempted to recapture Harfleur: he was killed at the battle of Verneuil, 1424.

Line 18. *ioie and worshippe*.—He “landed at Dover, in Kent, with alle his prisoners in saftee, thankede be Jhesu: and so come to Caunterbury, and so rood forth thorū Kent the nexte wey to Eltham, and there he rested him, til he wolde come to Londoun. And thanne the mayr of Londoun, and the aldermen, shereffes, with alle the worthi comeners and craftes, comen to the Blakeheth, weel and worthily arayed, to welcome oure kyng with divers melodies; and thanked Almyȝti God of his gracious victorie that He had shewed for hym. And so the kyng and his prisoners passeded forth bi hem, til he come to seynt Thomas Waterynge. And then ther mette with him alle religious with procession, and welcomed hym. And so the kyng come ridyng with his prisoners thorū the citee of Londoun; where that ther was shewede many a fayr syȝt at alle the coundites, and at the Crosse yn Chepe, as yn hevenly araye of aungelle, archaungelle, patriarkes, prophetis, and vergines, with divers melodies, sensyng and syngyng to welcome oure king: and alle the coundites rennyng wyn. And the kyng passed forth unto seynt Powles; and there mette with hym xiiij. bisshoppes cenersede and mytrede with sensers to welcome the kyng, and songen for his gracious victorie, ‘Te Deum Laudamus.’” (Rawl. 196; Claudius, A. viii. &c.)

Line 19. *Sigismund, the emperour.*—The “Acts of Council,” 4 Hen. V., give the arrangements for his reception. A muster of troops was to receive him at Calais, and the “clerk of the navy” was to have ships in readiness to convey the emperor and suite into England. At Dover, the duke of Gloucester, earl of Salisbury, &c. were to receive him; at Rochester, the constable and marshal of England, &c.; at Dartford, the duke of Clarence, earls of March, Huntingdon, &c. The mayor, aldermen, and notables of London were to welcome him at Blackheath; and the king himself midway between Deptford and Southwark, or at St. Thomas Watering. “Ther they kissed togedras and brasede eche other: and thanne the kyng toke the emperour bi the hande, and so they come ridyng throuȝ the citee of London vnto seynt Poules; and ther they lighte and offrede, and alle the bisshoppes stoden cenersed with censeris in here handes censyng. And thanne they toke here hors and riden to Westminster.” (Rawl. 196, 216; Ashmole, 793, &c.)

Page 44, line 1. *the king brouȝte him to Caleis.*—The Issue Roll, Easter, 4 Hen. V., contains payments for guns, gunpowder, &c. for the king’s voyage: payments for Sigismund and the duke of Holland, with their retinues, at Westminster; and for the emperor’s household removing from Westminster to Leeds Castle while visiting England. All knights, esquires, valets, and others of the king’s retinue were to be at Dover by August 18, to accompany the king, with their best equipments, to Calais, upon causes concerning the whole commonalty, July 23. “To our lord the king in his chamber:—In money paid for carriage of tents ornamented with gold and cloth of arras, with hangings and sides of arras, and other appurtenances, for the king and emperor to dwell in at Calais during their stay, 20*l.* July 29.” (Devon’s Issue Roll.)

Line 7. *Counselle of Constaunce.*—The council lasted from Nov. 16, 1414, to April 22, 1418. In the 41st session (Nov. 11, 1417), cardinal Colonna was elected pope as Martin V. in room of the three rivals, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. (before deposed by Pisa) and John XXIII. successor to Alexander V. who had been appointed by the council of Pisa. The *five nations*—Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and England, assisted, each by six representatives, in the election of Colonna. Before this council, the

name of a "nation," and the other privilege in the text, "had been delayed and letted from England by men of other nations for envy." (Stowe, 352.)

Page 45, line 16. *Louers.*—Louviers.

Line 31. *Baious.*—Bayeux.

Page 46, line 3. *Valeys Newelyn.*—Mentioned as one place; so in the chronicles generally. *Valeys*, Falaise? *Newelyn*, "Castrum de *Neweley Anglicorum industriâ subjugatur.*" (Elmham, 116.)

Line 12. *Cessy*, Seez. *Launson*, Alençon. *Belham*, Bellesme.

Line 14. *Pount large.*—Pont de l'Arche.

Page 47, line 20. *Roon.*—This famous siege has been celebrated in a long old English poem, occurring in three manuscripts of the Brute; namely, MSS. Harl. 753 and 2256, and one at Holkham (No. 670). It has been printed in the "Archæologia," xxii. 350-398, by sir Frederick Madden, 1829.

Line 6. *the dolfynez ambassiatours.*—The king had meditated an alliance with the dauphin, against the duke of Burgundy. Ambassadors were appointed to treat, Oct. 26, 1418, 6 Hen. V. (See a document relative to the alliance, Acts of Council, ii. 350-358.)

Page 49, last line. *Bokende Villers.*—From Pontoise the king "sent the duke of Clarence with a chosen power of men to Paris, to view the situation and strength thereof; before which city when he had tarried certain days, and had seen all that him likid, and that none of the Frenchmen would issue out of the city to fight with him, he returned to the king and ascertained him of all that he had seen. On the 18th August king Henry with his host departed from Pontoise; and because the *castle of Bokinvillers* had done certain inhuman cruelties to the king's land . . . he assalted the same castle." (Stowe, 358.) The castle surrendered from dread of Henry's name. (Titus Livius, 77; see also Elmham, 233.)

Page 51, line 32. *duke of Clarence was slain*.—At the battle of Beaujé, March 22nd, 1421. (Monstrelet.)

Page 52, line 2. *crowned at Westmynstre*.—Fabyan has preserved a full account of the marvellous banquet of fish on this occasion. There is also a tolerably full account of it in Rawl. 173; different from Fabyan's, but agreeing with him nearly in the description of the dishes, though not giving Fabyan's explanation of the "sotilties."

Line 3. *At midsomer*.—By letters patent from Dover, June 10, 1421, 9 Hen. V. the king appointed the duke of Bedford, as before, lieutenant of England, and was himself at Rouen on the 17th of that month. (Rymer, x. 129, 131.)

Line 13. *buried at Westmynstre*.—See the account of the funeral procession from the Bois de Vincennes to Westminster, in Stowe, 362-3. The king's body, embalmed and closed in lead, was laid in a "chariot drawn by four great horses: and above the dead corpse they laid a figure made of boiled hides or leather, representing his person as nigh as could be devised, painted curiously to the similitude of a living creature; upon whose head was set an imperial diadem of gold and precious stones, on his body a purple robe furred with ermine, and in his right hand he held a sceptre royal, and in his left hand a ball of gold, with a cross fixed thereon." The Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Henry V. contains the following entries: "Sept. 26. To John Ardern, for 26 tons of Caen stone for the tomb of king Henry V., in the church of Westminster, who is there buried, 12*l*. To Simon Prentot, wax-chandler of London, for divers hearses provided by him at Dover, Canterbury, Hospryng, Rochester, Dertford, St. Paul's London, and Westminster, for the funeral of the king Henry V. so brought from France into England, 300*l*. 12*s*. 6*d*. To John Ardern, clerk of the king's works, for making the tomb of king Henry V. erected in the church of the blessed Peter, Westminster, who is there buried, 23*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*." (Devon's Issue Roll.) A silver gilt effigy was placed upon the tomb by order of the queen. The head, which was of massive silver, was broken off in the time of Henry VIII. and the silver plates were also stripped from the body. (Stowe.)

Page 54, line 21. *the duke of Gloucestre . . . protectoure*.—It had been provided on Dec. 5, 1422, that the duke of Bedford should be protector of England and chief councillor whenever he might be in England; but that in his absence the duke of Gloucester should be protector. (Rymer, x. 261.) On this occasion of the young king's going into France Gloucester had been formally declared lieutenant of England, April 23, 1430. (Rymer, x. 458.)

Line 22. *Jacke Sharpe, &c.*—Probably a Lollard insurrection. Priests' heads were to be as cheap as sheeps'. (Fabyan; Stowe.) Payments were ordered to be made to the duke of Gloucester, lieutenant, for inquiring into certain disturbances and punishing Lollards and other heretics in the midland counties on May 11 (1431), June 12, July 16. (Acts of Council, iv. 88, 89, 91.) On the next day (July 17) 500 marks were paid to the duke. (Issue Roll, Easter, 9 Hen. VI.) The Issue Roll (Mich. 10 Hen. VI.) contains payment to the duke of Gloucester for executing Sharp and suppressing his rebellion. Sharp is there called "the most horrible heretic and impious traitor to God and the lord the king." Also 20*l.* were paid to the informer against "William Perkyns, who calling himself Jack Sharp was making a disturbance at a certain place in Oxford." (Feb. 16, 10 Hen. VI.)

Line 28. *the lord Fitz Watier . . . was . . . drownde*.—Nov. 25th, 1432. (Stowe.) Dugdale (i. 223) does not mention the circumstance: according to whom his will was proved Nov. 10, 1432. This lord Fitz Walter had been a valiant knight under Henry V. In the 9 Henry V. he was taken prisoner at the battle of Beaujé, when the duke of Clarence was killed. He had been joined with the earl of Mortayne in the command of troops then sent into France.

Line 30. *Dope*.—Dieppe.

Page 55, line 5 —*saint Kateryne; day vnto Sheoftide*.—St. Katharine's day was Nov. 25. "The 25th Nov. to 10th Feb." (Fabyan; Holinshed; Stowe.) Feast of St. Andrew's, Nov. 30th to Feb. 14th. (W. Worcester.) *Sheoftide* must be for *Shrovetide*. Shrove-Sunday, 1434, was Feb. 7th.

Page 56, line 12. *a prest called ser Richard Wyche*.—"Vicar of Hermetsworth in Essex or Middlesex [Harmondsworth in the latter county], sometime vicar of Dertford in Kent, who had before abjured, was burnt on the Tower hill the 17th June." (Stowe, 378.) Stowe has taken his account of the "ashes" of Rychard Wyche from our author. "Richard Wiehe, priest, mentioned both in Robert Fabian, and also in another old English chronicle borrowed of one Permyng. What his opinions were they doe not expresse." (Foxe's Acts and Monuments, 676.)

Page 57, line 3. *the iij. ordris of freris*.—They are thus mentioned in cap. 17, stat. 4 Hen. IV., which provides that infants under fourteen years of age shall not be received into any of the four orders of friars without the consent of their parents or guardians: Friars Minors, Augustines, Preachers, and Carmelites. The provincials or principals of the four orders were to make oath to observe the statute. (Stat. Realm, ii, 138.)

Line 5. *maister Roger Boltyngbroke*, to page 60, line 25, *livid not long aftir*.—Stowe has taken his account of Bolingbroke and dame Eleanor Cobham chiefly from this passage. Compare the later writer W. Worcester's account of Bolingbroke, Eleanor Cobham, and the Witch of Eye. (460, 461.) It will be observed that Stowe has altered the date of the year in the text: yet he still says that July 25th was Sunday. The dates on pages 59, 60, are correct for 1441.

Line 28. *sownyng*.—Signifying, sounding.

Line 30. *fledde be nyzte in to the sayntewary*.—On July 19th, "vigilia sanctæ Margaretæ" (W. Worcester), but 27th in this Chronicle. High treason was not debarred from the privilege of sanctuary until 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 13. This defect in the law a papal bull taught Henry VIII. in part to remedy, and he might appoint keepers to such persons to prevent their escape. (Seymour's Survey, ii. 592.) An inference from the text would be that the sanctuary was the common resort of persons suspected to be treasonous. Even sacrilege, which was considered a greater crime, we find *prohibited* from sanctuary by the 32 Hen. VIII., although it had been forbidden shelter by the laws of Edward I. (Fleta, i. 69): a proof that

sacrilegious persons were protected, and that the privilege of sanctuary was much abused. From 32 Hen. VIII., when eight sanctuaries only were retained, and great offences were debarred from them, until 21 James I., when all were abolished, they became the resort of debtors; and in Elizabeth's reign an oath and order of admission were introduced to place some little obstacle in the way of those who sought shelter simply to defraud their creditors. (Stat. Realm; Strype's Stowe; Seymour.)

Page 58, line 12. *of heresy*.—This seems to show that Lollardry was one of the charges. The treason was endeavouring to compass the king's death, by making an image of him in wax, and gradually consuming it, &c. (See Fabyan.)

Line 16. *she was committed to the ward of sir John Stiward, &c.*—There are several payments on the Issue Roll, Mich. 22 Hen. VI., relative to her custody. She had been deprived of her dowry. (Rot. Parl. v. 135.) She was sent to Chester Castle (Issue Roll, Feb. Mich. 20 Hen. VI.;) thence removed to Kenilworth Castle, Oct. 26, 1443, 22 Hen. VI. (Rymer, xi. 45.)

Line 25. *to enquire of al maner tresons, &c.*—"To divers doctors, notaries, and clerks, lately by the king's command laboriously employed respecting a superstitious sect of necromancers and persons charged with witchcraft and incantations. In money paid them by the hand of master Adam Moleyns, in discharge of 20*l.* which the said lord the king commanded to be distributed among them, to have by way of reward 20*l.*" Issue Roll, Mich. 20 Hen. VI. (Devon's Issue Roll.)

Page 60, line 7. *wherynne she was at her lif after, &c.*—"May 15th. To Ralph lord de Sudeley, constable of the king's castle of Kenilworth, to whom the lord the king, on Dec. 5th last past, committed the custody of Eleanor Cobham, for whose security and safe custody the said lord de Sudeley continually had twelve persons in attendance, viz. one priest, three gentlemen, one maid, five valets, and two boys: which said Ralph received . . . daily for himself 6*s.* 8*d.* per day; for the said priest, two gentlemen, and one gentleman, each of them 8*d.* per day; and for the said

maid and each of the said valets 6*d.* per day; and for each of the said boys 4*d.* per day. And, moreover, the said Eleanor received for her daily support 100 marks yearly. . . . By writ, &c. 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*” (Devon’s Issue Roll, Easter, 22 Hen. VI.) From Kenilworth Castle she was removed by an order of council to sir John Stanley, to be imprisoned in the Isle of Man. (Acts of Council, vi. 51, July, 24 Hen. VI. 1446.) Afterwards she was brought back to London. (Issue Roll, Easter, 25 Hen. V. July.)

Line 13. *Roger Boltyngbroke*, &c.—Feb. 24th, Barthol. Halley, one of the valets of the crown, received 10*l.* in discharge of 20*l.* for expenses attending the custody of Roger Bukbroke, upon whom the laws were executed—hire of horses, boats, bed, food, drink, &c. as well for himself as for the said Roger and two attendants during eight weeks six days. (Devon’s Issue Roll, Mich. 20 Hen. VI.) This man was also called Onley. (Hardyng; Lambard.)

Page 61, line 6. *And the Sunday next befor Witsuntide the xxiij. day of May.*—There is a confusion in the Chronicle here between the proposition which the earl of Suffolk made at the treaty of Tours for a marriage between Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou (Monstrelet, Stowe, Rapin, Carte, &c.), and the proxy-marriage which took place between Margaret and the earl of Suffolk for Henry VI., not earlier than, and no doubt in, November. (Stowe, Rapin, Carte.) I am indebted to Mr. Durrant Cooper for the following particulars, communicated to me through the kindness of Mr. Nichols:—From the Issue Rolls of Exchequer it appears that in negotiating the treaty of Tours for a truce (which was agreed to on the 25th May, and ratified 27th June), sir Thomas Hoo, one of the commissioners with the earl of Suffolk, whose history Mr. Durrant Cooper has been investigating, embarked on the 22nd April, and was paid 20*s.* per day from that day till 27th June, when he had returned. (Issue Roll, Easter Term, Sept. 30th, 23 Hen. VI., and 20th July, same term and year, and 16th July, Easter, 22 Hen. VI.) [According to our chronicler the commissioners started about the end of February or beginning of March.] On the 6th July three messengers were appointed from Henry to Margaret: Robert lord Roos, sir Thomas Hoo, and Garter King at Arms. On the 23rd July Hoo drew 91*l.*, and also (Issue Roll, Easter, 22 Hen. VI.)

26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* on account of his expenses, and started only on the 26th August, landing again in England, in company with the queen and others, on 11th April, 1445, being absent half a year and fifty-one days. The earl and countess of Suffolk did not start from England till 5th November, 1444, and were absent 157 days. (Issue Roll, Easter, 23 Hen. VI. 20th July.) These facts satisfactorily show that the proxy-marriage cannot have taken place much before the middle of November. The only matter in the Issue Rolls, Mr. Durrant Cooper observes, which in any way appears to confirm the chronicler's date for the marriage, is an entry on July 23rd, Easter, 22 Hen. VI.:—"To Robert baron Roos, Thomas Hoo knt., and Garter King at Arms, whom the king sent to France towards 'his most dear consort,' by the hands of Stephen Kyrkeby his chaplain, &c. 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*" In Devon's Issue Roll are payments to the earl and countess of Suffolk on their journey and residence between Nov. 1444 and April 1445, but he does not print the entry of the 20th July, Easter, 23 Hen. VI., which distinctly states the employment of the earl and countess to have been from the 5th Nov. 1444, and the whole sum paid to them to be 140*8l.* for the 157 days.

Line 12. *but what treson grew vnder tho trewe3*.—At Suffolk's proposition for the marriage of Margaret of Anjou with Henry, during the treaty of Tours, he agreed to the surrender of Anjou and Maine to René, king of Sicily, Margaret's father. (Stowe, Rapin; see also further on, p. 68.)

Line 18. *condue* (so written twice).—Conduct.

Line 19. *markeys of Suffolk*.—The earl was advanced to the title of marquis of Suffolk, Sept. 14, 1444; 23 Hen. VI. (Dugdale, ii. 188.)

Line 21. *Humfrey erl of Stafford maad duke of Bukynghame*.—Sept. 14, 23 Hen. VI. 1444. (Dugdale, i. 165.)

Line 25. *Henry erl of Warwic maad duke of Warwic*.—April, 1444, 22 Hen. VI., with precedence of the duke of Buckingham, and place next to the duke of York. The Act of the *next* year (23 Hen. VI.) settled the disputes which had immediately arisen between the two dukes; and from the

2nd Dec. ensuing (1444) they were to take precedency by turns year by year; Warwick to have the first turn. (See Dugdale, i. 248.)

Line 26. *the lord Beaumont maad vicount Beaumont*.—The first person who bore the title of viscount: so created with precedency over all barons, and twenty marks yearly fee out of the county of Lincoln, Feb. 2, 18 Hen. VI. 1440. And in the 23 Hen. VI. (the year under consideration) he had grant to himself and heirs male of precedency over all viscounts thenceforth to be created, and also over the heirs of earls; and to rank in all parliaments and meetings next to earls. (Dugd. Bar. ii. 54.)

Page 62, line 3. *crowned at Westmynstre*.—The Issue Roll, Easter, 23 Hen. VI. contains several payments relative to the coronation. One to minstrels of the queen's father, king of Sicily. "June 18. To 5 minstrels of the king of Sicily, who lately came to England to witness the state and grand solemnity on the day of the queen's coronation, and to make a report thereof abroad, to each of them 10*l.* of the king's gift, by way of reward, 50*l.*" Again, to 2 minstrels of the duke of Milan on the same errand, 5 marks to each, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To John de Surencourt, an esquire of the king of Sicily, and steward of the queen's household abroad, who came previously to the queen's reception to witness the solemnity of her coronation and to report the same, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To "John d'Escoce, an esquire of the king of Sicily, who, as a true subject of the queen's father, left his own occupation abroad, and came in the queen's retinue to witness the solemnity of the day of her coronation; in money, &c. by writ, &c. 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*" (Devon's Issue Roll.)

Page 62, line 12. *the parlement at saint Edmundis Bury*.—This parliament was first summoned for Westminster, but as its object was the condemnation of Gloucester (a favourite in London), the place of meeting was altered to Bury St. Edmund's. (Carte, ii. 727.) Upon the duke's arrest, immediately after his arrival at Bury, reports were sent abroad that he had purposed the death of the king, and liberation of his duchess Eleanor Cobham from Kenilworth Castle. On these charges his retainers were afterwards tried and condemned. But the charge in the text, that he was engaged in a conspiracy with the Welsh, seems

likely to have been brought against him, for the statute passed at this same parliament revives and confirms all the rigorous laws made against the Welsh; indeed nothing else was done in it (Stat. Realm, ii. 344.)

Line 19. *ordeyned that every lorde sholde come with the strengthe.*—So with the memorable parliament, 21 Ric. II. The Suffolk militia were ordered out in full force, to the number of 40,000 (Appendix, p. 116), to guard all the roads round Bury: the distances they came prove the stringency of the muster.

Page 63, line 7. *he deide for sorow.*—Stowe has borrowed our author's words. The date for this event is given Feb. 28th (see Carte, Lingard); 24th (Fabyan, Holinshed, Stowe): but Richard Fox's circumstantial narrative almost *fixes* it on Thursday 23rd (Appendix, p. 117.) According to our chronicler the duke was murdered (see next page, l. 22): although in this passage he speaks cautiously. His knowledge of a "prive conclusioun," on the part of the government, "the whiche as yit is not come to the knowlege of the commune peple," is rather remarkable. The Yorkists almost always declared the duke was murdered. (See the Articles, p. 88.) Whethamstede (365, &c.) abbot of St. Alban's, says he died a natural death: Richard Fox, in the Appendix (117), implies the same. These two monks of St. Alban's must be considered as high authorities. Fox wrote but a few months after the duke's death, and probably assisted at his funeral. His death is told naturally. Fox calls him "the good duke," and is not likely to have kept back from his monastery, through fear, any particulars of the death of their common patron. The duke granted the priory of St. Nicholas, Pembroke, to the abbot and convent of St. Alban's, (see the charters in Whethamstede, Aug. 21 Hen. VI., 311-316,) to pray perpetually for his soul. (Rot. Parl. v. 253, 307.) It seems he had first (April, 21 Hen. VI.) intended it for the chapter of Salisbury. (Acts of Council, v. 266.) The fullest particulars of the duke's funeral are given in the Appendix, and it is thought that the following document may be considered interesting enough to appear in this place. It is from Claudius A. viii. f. 195.

"In this cedula be conteyned the charges and observances appointed by

the noble prince Humfrey, late duke of Gloucestre, to be perpetuelly boren by thabbot and conuent of the monasterie of seint Albone.

"First, the abbot and conuent of the seid monasterie haue payd for makynge of the tumbre and place of sepulture of the seid duke withinne the seid monasterie aboute the summe of . . . cccc.xxxiiij *li*. vjs. viij *d*.

"Item, to ij. monkes prestes dayly seiynge messe at the auter of sepulture of the seid prince, euerich of them takynge by j. day, vj *d*. Summe therof by j. hole yere is . . . xviiij *li*. vs.

"Item, to thabbot ther yerly the day of anniuersary of the seide prince attendynge his exequyes ther . . . xls.

"Item, to the priour ther yerly the same day in like wyse attendynge . . . xxs.

"Item, to xl. monkes prestes yerly, to euerych of them the same day vjs. viij *d*. Summe therof . . . xiiij *li*. vjs. viij *d*.

"Item, to viij. monkes not prestes yerly the seid day, to eueryche of them iij s. iiij *d*. Summe therof . . . xxvjs. viij *d*.

"Item, to ij. ankresses, j. at sent Petures chirche, another at sent Michael's, the seid day yerly, to eueryche xx *d*. Summe . . . iij s. iiij *d*.

"Item, in monie to be destribut to pore peple ther the seid day yerly . . . xls.

"Item, to xiiij. pore men berynge torches the seid day aboute the seid sepulture . . . ijs. ij *d*.

"Item, for wex brennynge dayly at his messes and his seid anniuersary, and of torches yerly . . . vj *li*. xiijs. iiij *d*.

"Item, to the kechen of the conuent ther yerly in releef of the gret decay of the liuelode of the seid monasterie in the marches of Scotland, whiche before tyme hathe be appointed to the seide kechyne . . . ix *li*."

Page 64, line 2. *maister Adam Moleyns*.—This bishop, in conjunction with sir Robert Roos, as king's commissioner, delivered up Maine to Charles VII., March, 1448; and, according to W. Worcester, was murdered for his share in that unpopular business. It was also said that the duke of York had a hand in his death. (Stowe, Gibson.) He was succeeded by the celebrated Reginald Pecock.

Line 10. *William Ascoghe*.—Stowe has taken his account of the murder

of Ascoth from this manuscript. According to Thomas Gascoigne he was made king's confessor, being the first bishop that held that office. He had also been clerk of the king's council. (See Godwin's Cat. of Bishops.)

Page 64, line 23. *And this same yeer, in the moneth of May*, to page 68, line 9, *harm to meny persone*.—Stowe's account of Cade's insurrection, partly from our author, is very interesting and full. In the "Issue Roll" are several payments relative to the capture of John Mortimer, alias Jack Cade: and there is a compensation to the duke of York for jewels stolen from him by this rebel—a first-sight argument, at least, that the duke had not secretly urged on his rebellion. The Issue Rolls prove the serious nature of the insurrection. The following entry occurs: Easter, May 17, 31 Hen. VI. "To Lancaster king of arms, who . . . with great speed rode from Leicester to London, Daventry, and divers places, in which journey he injured two horses worth 8*l.* and moreover paid for the hire of other horses 40*s.*; by which riding he was a loser, &c. 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*" However, the date of the entry shows no hurry was made to remunerate him. The Acts of Council, vi. 96-99, 101, July 12 to Aug. 25, 28 Hen. VI. contains several orders for seizing property stolen by the Captain of Kent, gold, silver, cloth of arras, &c.; payments for his arrest, &c. Also an order to treasurer and chamberlain of exchequer to deliver to master Andrew Holes, keeper of the privy seal, who was about to undertake a journey for the king, and was "destitut of hors, six horses lately belonging to that traitour calling himself captain of Kent, by way of lone" On the insurrection see sir H. Nicolas's Preface to vol. vi. Acts of Council, xxvii. xxviii.

Line 24. *a ribaude*.—A ruffian. (French, *ribaud*, deriv. *hrid*, pugna, *balldr*, audax. Todd from *lhre*.) The derivation gives the history of the word. Originally, in a *good* sense, it was applied to stout, brave, tried soldiers; the word degenerated and became the description of rapacious, lawless fellows, bandits, libertines, &c. Perhaps was never used in a *good* sense in England, but, with *ribaudry*, had a low, licentious meaning. (See Dict. de Furetiere, Richelet.)

Page 66, line 15. *Kyllynsworth*.—Kenilworth.

Line 26. *brigaundyne*3.—A coat of mail; a scale armour, very light and pliable. (See Halliwell's Archaic Dict.) But here it seems to mean *greaves*; "a pair of" greaves. The *coat* was of blue velvet.

Line 27. *a gilt salat*.—Salad, a helmet.

Line 31. *the lord Say*.—A literary character, if there is any foundation for Shakspeare's anachronism, so cleverly introduced. (Compare Henry VI. pt. ii. act 4, scene 8.) If this is the case, it will account for Gibbon's satisfaction in proving his descent from this lord Saye. (See Memoir, Miscell. Works, 4to, 1769, i. 6.) Lord Saye had been made sheriff of Kent, 15 Hen. VI.

Last line, note.—So also Fabyan: "Thanne vpon the morne, beyng the iij. day of Julye and Fridaye, the saide capitaine entred against the cytie."

Page 68, line 15. *menuzid*.—Diminished.

Line 26. *at instaunce and petition of the said Commune*3.—On Feb. 7th, 1450, 28 Hen. VI. nine articles were exhibited by the Commons against Suffolk. He was charged with having attempted to dethrone the king—having procured the liberation of the duke of Orleans—having, "while oon of youre ambassiatours to youre saide adversarie Charles callyng hymself kyng of Fraunce, above his instruction and power to hym by you committed, promysed to Reyner kyng of Cicile and Charles d'Aungers his brother, youre grete ennemyes, the delyveraunce of Maunce and Mayne, without the assent or knowyng of other youre ambassiatours:" the loss of these provinces occasioned the loss of Normandy—he had betrayed his country to the French, &c. (Rot. Parl. v. 177–179.) The duke was at this time in the Tower, where he had been committed Jan. 28. (Id. 177.)

Page 70, line 15. *the erle of Shrouesbury was slayne*, &c.—At the siege of Chatillon, near Bordeaux; lord Lisle, the earl's eldest son, and sir Edward Hull were also killed, and lord Molins taken prisoner. (Stowe, 397; Dugd. i. 330.) Sir Robert Hungerford, in right of his wife, became

lord Molins, 19 Hen. VI., and succeeded his father as lord Hungerford, 37 Hen. VI. (Dugd. ii. 207.)

Line 31. *the erle of Douglas of Scotlonde*.—The murder of William earl of Douglas was the conclusion of a conference with the king at Stirling Castle, Feb. 22, 1452; but did not put an end to the contests between the government and the Douglasses. James, brother of the murdered earl, openly denounced the king, and a battle was fought May 18, 1452, in which the king's troops were victorious. Sir James Hamilton of Cadyow was sent by Douglas to beg assistance from England; but, as the earl could obtain nothing but promises and advice from thence, he was compelled with the troops he had to meet the king near Abercorn; and the desertion of Hamilton and most of his troops obliged the earl, with his family, to seek refuge in England. Douglas made a last attempt, in conjunction with the earl of Northumberland, guardian of the marches, to regain power in Scotland, and found himself defeated by his old ally Hamilton of Cadyow. (Drummond, Hist. Scot. 1655, 54–66.) In Rymer is a safe-conduct for members of the earl's family for two years, to pass over to Calais and return, dated July 16, 1454, 32 Hen. VI. Issue Roll, Easter, 33 Hen. VI. contains the following entry of payment to Douglas for his services:—"To James earl Douglas, to whom the present lord the king, with the advice of his council, on the 4th August [1455], in the 33rd year, granted 500*l.* yearly for the services performed by the said earl to the said lord the king, &c. until the said earl should have recovered or be restored to his inheritance, or to the great property taken from him by the person who calls himself king of Scotland, 100*l.*" (Devon's Issue Roll; see also Rymer, xi. 367.) He never was summoned to parliament.

Page 71, line 24. *gadered priuily a power of peple, &c.*—From this history it would appear that the king had no idea of the proximity of the Yorkists. The duke must have forced his marches excessively, as his army was collected from the Welsh Marches, and the king, upon hearing of the muster of forces there, had gathered troops and left London. Henry was hastening to Leicester to hold a council, probably on the best way of opposing the duke, and also that the struggle might be away from London, where the Yorkist cause was favoured. The king's first stage was

to Watford; the next morning he arrived at St. Alban's, and was surprised by the Yorkists. (Compare Stowe, 398; see also Polydore Vergil, edit. Camd. Soc. p. 95.)

Line 27. *sente to the kyng*.—This demand of the duke of York, with the king's answer, and the duke's address to his troops, are preserved in Stowe. (398, 399.) Somerset is not *expressly* named in the demand, "*deliver such as we will accuse*."

Page 74, line 30. *in the morow*.—In the morning. The exploit mentioned in the text is perhaps a new fact with regard to Sir Thomas Kyriel.

Page 75, line 2. *died the erlle of Deuynshire in the abbey of Abyndoun poyssened*. He died upon the feast of St. Blase the Bishop, Feb. 3, according to Dugdale, who neither mentions the place of his death nor his supposed poisoning.

Line 5. *Reynold Pecock*.—Stowe has copied nearly word for word this account of Pecock, adding a list of his works. Reginald Pecock was born in 1390; became Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, Oct. 30, 1417. He was patronised on account of his learning and worth by Humphrey duke of Gloucester, who called him up to the court. After some few minor promotions, and some years' study of the controversy between the Church and the Lollards, he was promoted to the bishopric of St. Asaph in 1444, and translated to Chichester March 23, 1449. He was deprived in 1457 (as in the text), and sent to the abbey of Thorney, Cambridgeshire, where he was to be confined. He was never to leave his cell; to have one serious person to attend upon him; no books but a mass-book, psalter, a legend, and bible; no paper, pens or ink, &c. From this rigorous confinement he was released by death, probably in 1460. (See Lewis's Life of Pecock).

Page 77, line 26. *laude*.—Laudum. (Wals.) An award, judgment.

Line 29. *amorteysed*.—Amortir. To alienate property in mortmain, i.e. to any corporation or fraternity, and its successors. (Cunningham, Law Dic.)

Page 78, line 13. *for certeyne causes and articles*.—See Stowe, 397. Edmund duke of Somerset was imprisoned twice by the influence of the Yorkist party in 1451 and 1453, before the duke of York was made Protector, which was on April 3, 1454. The latter and longer confinement of Somerset was terminated by the king's recovery and resumption of power; and the royal mandate for his liberation from the Tower is dated Feb. 5, 1455. (Rymer, xi. 361.) He was actually liberated, by his own confession, Feb. 7 (362); and from this document we arrive at the approximate date of his confinement (Nov. 1453). He was imprisoned "one hole yere, ten woks, and more." The duke fell at St. Alban's, May 22, 1455.

Line 26. *The xxxvij. yeer*.—This section is copied in Stowe, 404.

Page 79, line 17. *quynzymes*.—Decima quinta. (So *quatryme*z, p. 48, line 2, decima quarta.) A tax of the fifteenth part of the property of a town or city, &c. (See Cunningham, Law Dic.)

Line 28. *avoutry* —Adultery.

Line 29. *allyed vnto her*, to page 8, line 4, *purpos aboute*.—Copied in Stowe, 404.

Page 80, line 5. *The xxxviii. yere of kyng Harry*, to last line, *tenoure ys thus*—Evidently used, and the language partly adopted, by Stowe, 405.

Page 81, line 1. *Most Crystyne kyng*, to page 83, line 14, *abood there*.—Copied in Stowe, 405, 406.

Page 83, line 15. *Thanne was a parlement holden at Couentre*, to page 91, line 23, *influence of bodyes transitory*.—Our author continues to be the basis of Stowe, 406-408. The language is frequently used: the articles sent by the Yorkists to the archbishop of Canterbury and the Commons are given at length; and the first two lines of the ballad set upon the gates of Canterbury are quoted.

Line 16. *they that were chosenne knyghtes of the shyres . . . were enemyes to the forseide lordes.*—This was the charge brought against this parliament, when its acts were annulled by that of the ensuing year, and it was pronounced a “develish” parliament. (See Stowe, 412.)

Page 91, line 23, marg. *Balat set upponne the gates of Caunterbury.*—This curious and interesting ballad would seem to show that the writer of the Chronicle was acquainted with Canterbury: he may have copied this Yorkist effusion from the city gates.

Page 92, line 15. *arn.*—Are in.

Line 22. *flemed.*—Banished, put to flight.

Page 93, line 5. *alle to.*—All-to, altogether, entirely. (See Judges ix. 53.)

Page 94, line 8. *Thanne the noble erles, to line 29, nede were.*—Stowe (408) has much abridged this section. He has omitted mention of the herald from the earls to the Londoners; of the advice of the Lancastrian party among the citizens; and the delegation of twelve aldermen to convey to the Yorkists permission to enter the city.

Page 95, line 1. *Thanne was .a conuocacione of the clergy,* to page 97, line 2, *in the feild.*—Abridged in Stowe (408–409).

Line 22. *lorde Audeley.*—John Touchet: he adhered first to the Lancastrian interest, but after his captivity in Calais (see page 84) he became a stanch Yorkist. (See Dugdale, Bar. ii. 29.)

Last line. *lord Kendale a Gascoyne.*—John de Foix, a Gascon by birth, earl of Kendal, viscount Chatillon, and lord de Greilly. He was the son of the famous Gaston de Foix capital de Buch, and was made a knight of the Garter, with his father, by Henry VI.

Page 97, line 3. *The archebyshope of Caunterbury,* to line 8, *departed away.*—Omitted by Stowe.

Line 8. *The bysshop of Herford, a Whyte Frere*, to page 98, line 11, *loged in the bysshop's paleys*.—Followed by Stowe, who copies the address of the earls.

Line 18. *vanweuarde*.—Vanward, the forepart.

Page 98, line 13. *Nat longe before this batayle*, to line 18, *robbery*.—Omitted by Stowe.

Line 14. *Furthermore the Saturday*, to page 106, line 16, *protectoure of Englund*.—See Stowe, 409–411. The articles between the king and the duke of York, which are derived from the Rolls of Parliament, are copied from our author, with the exception of the word “lawfully,” which Stowe has commented upon in the margin. Sir John Fortescue, in his “Defence of the House of Lancaster against that of York,” maintained the illegitimacy of Philippa; but, in his “Defence of the House of York,” which he wrote upon his pardon by Edward IV., he refuted his own arguments. Fortescue was chancellor to Henry VI., and accompanied queen Margaret and the prince of Wales in their exile, during which time he wrote his celebrated work, “*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*.” (See his Introduction to *De Laud*.) See extracts from Fortescue’s “*Defensio Juris Domus Lancastriæ*,” in “*Hereditary Right to the Crown*,” 234, &c. and App. I. &c.; Lingard, iv. 197. Fortescue’s MSS., as has been observed, were lost in the fire of 1731, so destructive to the Cottonian Library.

Page 99, line 30. *kyng Harry the vjth that now ys in to thys tyme*.—A proof that this manuscript was written at least before the death of Henry VI., in May 1471: but the most natural inference would be that Henry was *king* while the author was writing these words.

Page 101, line 1. *the yere of oure Lorde Mⁱ.cc.*—So written: it should be Mⁱ.cc.xlv.

Page 106, line 9. *royalx*.—Rolls.

Line 16. *protectoure of Englund*.—For the third time. On All Saints’

day, Nov. 1st, the king, wearing the crown, went in state to St. Paul's, in company with the duke of York, to return thanks for the amicable arrangement between the two factions; and on the Saturday following, Nov. 8th, the duke of York was proclaimed by sound of the trumpet Protector of England. (Hall, Grafton, Pol. Vergil, Stowe, Carte, &c.) The duke had before acted for the king in parliament, by appointment, Feb. 13, 1454 (Rot. Parl. v. 239; Rym. xi. 344); made protector, April 3, 1454 (Rot. Parl. v. 243; Rym. xi. 346); protectorate ended in Feb. 1455. Protector the second time, Nov. 19, 1455 (Rot. Parl. v. 453; Rym. xi. 369; released from that office, Feb. 25, 1456 (Rot. Parl. v. 321; Rym. xi. 373). The duke was killed at the battle of Wakefield, Dec. 31, 1460.

Line 24. *lord Nevyle, brother to the erle of Westmorland*.—Stowe has taken his account of the treachery of lord Neville from this author. John lord Neville was grandson of Ralph first earl of Westmerland, and brother of Ralph then earl. He was killed at the battle of Towton, March 29, 1461, 1 Ed. IV.; and was included in the Bill of Attainder passed in the parliament which commenced Nov. 4 the same year. (Rot. Parl. v. 477, 480.)

Page 107, line 4. *lorde Haryngtone*.—William Bonville: he was grandson to William lord Bonville, who, within two months after this, was executed, after the second battle of St. Alban's. (Dugd. B. ii. 236.)

Line 15. *to reyse peple for to chastyse the peple and rebelles of the North*.—There can be little doubt that the document referred to in the foot-note was for this purpose. Edward duke of York was raising forces in the Welsh marches when his father fell at Wakefield. He was at Gloucester when he heard of the duke's death, and then moved to Shrewsbury. On Feb. 2nd, or according to our author Feb. 3rd, he fought the battle of Mortimer's Cross; the next thing we know about him is his entry into London on Feb. 28th. (See page 110, and Stowe, 414.) Margaret had not taken advantage of her victory at Wakefield on Dec. 31, and probably she did not commence her march towards the capital until the beginning of February. It must have been upon hearing of this fresh danger in the

North that this mandate to the duke of York was issued on Feb. 12. The commission directed him to collect all true subjects in Bristol, in the counties of Stafford, Salop, Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, Somerset, and Dorset, and lead them against *the rebels* in different counties. So the men may have been bound to serve, but there can be no doubt *where* those counties were situated, nor from *what quarter* danger then threatened. The stronghold of the Lancastrians was the North; and from thence Margaret was on her way to London. Though in these times marches were often very rapid, we also find that news could travel very slowly; and the Yorkists, in whose custody the king was, and who used his name to legalise their proceedings, may not have heard * of the approach of Margaret's army before Thursday, Feb. 12, when they thus sent for help, and left London for St. Alban's. This Chronicle describes the royal party as *surprised* by the Lancastrians. (Compare also the account of the *first* battle of St. Alban's, page 71, where the Lancastrians were surprised by the Yorkists.)

Line 16. *And they of the Northe heryng this, &c.*—Margaret commenced her march southward, according to our chronicler, in consequence of the commissions against her issued to sheriffs, &c. Stowe describes her army as composed of "Scots, Welshmen, and other strangers, beside the Northern men." It is to be observed that the march is described as rapid: "they came doune *sodeynly* to the towne of Dunstaple," though they stopped for plunder on the way. Stowe says that Grantham, Stamford, Peterborough, Huntingdon, Royston, Melborne (co. Cambr.), and all the towns, abbeys, and priories as far as Dunstable were pillaged by Margaret's army. (Stowe, 413.) The second battle of St. Alban's was on Shrove Tuesday, Feb. 17th.

Line 24. *the lorde Bonevyle and other*, to the end, page 110.—Stowe has occasionally used the language of the Chronicle, showing that he still followed it.

* We find a descent was *expected* as early as Jan. 28th, when the king issued letters to several noblemen, knights, sheriffs, &c. to flock to his standard with forces. (See Acts of Council, vi. 307-310, and our chronicler's statement.)

Page 108, line 20. *The lorde Bonevyle . . . wolde have withdrawe him.*
 —This cotemporary writer *does* mention the protection promised by the king to lord Bonville (compare Lingard's note, iv. 133); and, as the Act of Attainder, 1 Edw. IV. (not printed in the Statutes of the Realm, but occurring in Rot. Parl. v. 476-482) asserts the same, we may consider it as true. The king was but an instrument. The act says, "Sufferyng wilfully thoo worthy and good knyghtes, William lord Bonville and sir Thomas Kiryell, for the prowesse of knyghthode approved in their persones called to the order of the Garter, and William Gower squyer, the berer of oon of his baners, whom to he made feith and assurans, under kynges word procedyng from his mouth, to kepe and defende theym there from all hurte," &c. (Rot. Parl. v. 477.) Lord Bonville had been appointed one of the curators of Henry, with the duke of Norfolk, earls of Salisbury, Warwick, &c.

Line 26. *ser Thomas Kyryelle.*—Sir Thomas Kyriel of Kent, a celebrated knight in the French wars. In Jan. 1429 he obtained with 400 men a victory over the French under the count de Clermont near Beauvais; in 1430 he was taken prisoner by the French, while fighting under the duke of Burgundy near Guerbigny; in 1431 he was governor of Beauvoisis castle; put down rebellion in the district of Caux, upon the death of the duke of Bedford, in 1436; during Lent, 1450, he landed at Cherbourg with 3,000 English, and took Valonges, &c.; April 12, he advanced towards Bayeux and Caen, and on the 18th was defeated and made prisoner by the count de Clermont; on Aug. 28, 1457, he drove the French from Sandwich; was made a knight of the Garter on Feb. 8, 1461, with the earl of Warwick and lord Bonville; beheaded Feb. 18, by order of queen Margaret.

Line 27. *Ser Johan Nevyle, kyng Harryes chamberlayne.*—Since the battle of Northampton, in July 1460, the king had been in the hands of the Yorkists, and new officers no doubt had been appointed. This John Neville, second son of the earl of Salisbury, was advanced to the title of marquis Montague, 1 Ed. IV.; and was killed at the battle of Barnet, April 14, 1471.

Line 31. *manas.*—Manace, menace, threat.

Page 109, line 7. *the duchesse of Buckyngham, with other wytty men with her.*—After the queen's victory at St. Alban's, she sent to the mayor of London, desiring him to send Lenten fare for the army. He obeyed; but the citizens stopped the carts he had caused to be laden at Cripplegate, drove back some of the queen's soldiers, who were plundering the suburb, and killed three of them: "Whereupon the maior sent the recorder to Barnet, to the king's counsell, there to excuse the matter; and the *duchess of Bedford*, the lady Scales, with divers fathers of the spirituallity, went to the queen to asswage her displeasure conceived against the city. The queene, therefore, at their humble request, by advice of her counsell, appointed certaine lords and knights, with 400 tall persons, to ride to the citie, and there to view and see the demeanor of the people; and divers aldermen were appointed to meete them at Barnet, and to convey them to London." (Stowe, 414.) However, tidings of the approach of the young duke of York made the queen think it desirable to retire into the North without applying this test of affection. (See also Grafton, Holinshed.) The *duchess of Buckingham*, whose husband had died July 10, 1460, was probably of the party sent to intercede with the queen, if not the chief of them; it is likely that she possessed great influence with the queen as *godmother to the prince of Wales*. (See page 70.) The duke of Buckingham (grandson of preceding duke) was a child, and remained under the guardianship of Edward IV. (Dugd. B. ii. 167.)

Page 111, line 6. *he hulde a parlement in Irelande.*—Dublin, Monday, April 19th. See a letter from the king to the duke of York Custos of England and the Privy Council, dated Dublin, Feb. 1, 1395, 18 Ric. II. (Acts of Council, i. 55.)

Line 12. *sette a parlement at Londone.*—Wednesday, "in quindenâ Sancti Hilarii," Jan. 27, at Westminster. (Rot. Parl. iii. 329.) The duke of Gloucester left Ireland to represent the king's needs after the Epiphany, Jan. 6th. (Knyghton, 2742.) The duke of York had been made Custos of England, Sept. 29, 1394. (Rymer, vii. 789.)

Last line. *maystur John Wyccelef.*—Wiclif died Dec. 31, 1384.

Page 112, line 2. *sire Rycharde Sturry, &c.*—Compare Walsingham, 351.

Line 5. *xij chapytours of eresie*.—Foxe, "Acts and Monuments," edit. 1576, 490–492, gives these Conclusions, with a reference at the end to Wiclif's writings.

Line 23. *vers . . . sette vpon Powles dores*.—These verses are to be found in Foxe (Acts and Mon.), Stowe (Annals); they occur also in Cotton. MS. Vesp. D. ix. f. 51, headed "*Versus Lollardorum contra prelatos ecclesiæ ad excitandum dominos temporales contra eos*." In line 3 (in text) *Giezite Semoni nati*. *Giezite*, i.e. children of Gehazi. Mr. Macray has referred me to the form of that name in the Vulgate, *Giezi* (see 2 Kings, iv. v. *passim*). In line 4, *Nontiu*, a corruption; Vesp. D. ix. and Foxe, read *Nomine*. In line 5, *populus*, *populis*. In line 6, *gladiis*, *gladios*. Foxe gives the following translation:—

The English nation doth lament
of Sodomites their sinne,
Which Paule doth playnly signifie,
by idoles to begyn.
But Giersites full ingrate
from sinfull Symon sprong,
This to defend, though priests in name,
make bulwarkes great and strong.
Ye princes, therefore, which to rule
the people God hath placed,
With justice' sword why see ye not
This euill great defaced?

Vesp. D. ix. gives the following answer:—"Versus cujusdam catholici contra eosdem Lollardorum."

Gens Lollardorum gens est vilis Sodomorum,
Errores eorum sunt in mundo causa dolorum.
Hii sunt ingrati, maledici, Demone nati,
Quos, vos Prelati, sitis dampnare parati.
Qui pugiles estis fidei, populisque preestis,
Non horum gestis ignes prohibere potestis.

The same volume contains a long poem against the Lollards (f. 165-

168 b.) beginning, "Presta Jhesu quod postulo, Fac quod in tuo populo Nulla labes resideat," &c. At the beginning and end occurs the sentence, "Dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt Domine Jhesu."

Page 113, line 18. *And in this same zere, there apered in Fraunce*, to the end, page 115.—Richard Fox has taken this from Walsingham, 351–353.

Line 19. *Landavencis*.—Landunensis (Wals.). *Laudunum*? Laon; twenty miles N.W. of Rheims; an ancient episcopal see suffragan to that archbishopric.

Line 22. *a barbour, called a Moret*.—Morectus ille Barbarus. He was general of the Turks at the siege of Constantinople, according to Walsingham. Bajazet I. sultan of the Turks in 1395, invested Constantinople by sea and land. In consequence of this siege Manuel Palæologus, the Greek emperor, sent ambassadors to, and then visited the courts of Europe to implore help. (See note, page 22, line 21.) Mr. Nichols thinks that under the spelling *a Moret* is disguised the name *Amurath*, and that *a barbour* means a native of Barbary, or one so considered. Though *Amurath* occurred to me, I thus followed the MS. because Richard Fox here translates from Walsingham. Knollys's "Hist. of Turks," p. 205, mentions *Temurtases* as Bajazet's "great lieutenant in Europe," and as advising the siege. *Murtasis* occurs in the Short Chron. at the end of Ducas, "Hist. Byzant." 196.

Page 114, line 7. *hure*.—Their.

Line 13. *sire John duke of Lancastre*.—The dukedom of Guienne had been conferred upon Lancaster for life, March 2, 1390, 13 Ric. II. (Rot. Parl. Rymer); but he did not leave England to take possession till late in September, 1394. He was recalled in the autumn of 1395, 19 Ric. II. on account of the unpopularity of his appointment in Guienne. Richard Fox, in the text, gives Walsingham's account. But see Appendix 128, and Froissart, iv. cap. lxxv.

Page 116, line 15. *Lanam*.—Lynham, ten miles north of Devizes, Wilts.

Page 117, line 19. *Arteys*.—So written twice. Arthur Tursey, esquire. (See Stowe, 386.)

Page 118, line 1. *Greye Freres of Babbewede*.—The Grey Friars settled at Bury St. Edmund's about 1257, and fixed themselves in the north-west part of the town, notwithstanding the opposition of the Benedictine monks of the place. In 1363, however, these Grey Friars were removed to a site beyond the north gate, called *Babwell*, where they remained till the Dissolution. (See Tanner's Notitia.)

Line 8. *Berkewey*.—Barkway, Hertfordshire.

Line 20. *hensemen*.—Henchmen, horsemen.

Page 119, line 1. *Sed Abbas, &c.*—See note, page 2, line 22.

Page 121, line 18. *qui nunc comitatum habet*.—The MS. ends in 1413. Philip of Burgundy died in the beginning of 1404, and Margaret his duchess on the Friday before Mid-Lent Sunday the same year. John duke of Burgundy succeeded to the counties of Flanders and Artois. (Monstrel. I. cap. xviii. xxi.)

Line 22. *Rupellâ*.—Rochelle.

Page 123, line 3. *minimum garcionem coquinae tuæ*.—Perhaps a favourite expression of Richard's. According to Walsingham, he exclaimed to Gloucester and the others at this meeting, "*Profecto de vobis omnibus non plus in hac parte reputo, quam de coquina mea infimo garcione.*" Knyghton records the same expression used by the king before the depuration of the Commons, who waited upon him at Eltham in the autumn of 1386, to request the dismissal of M. de la Pole.

Page 125, line 18. *duodena miserorum*.—On page 26 we have an instance of a jury swayed by terror.

Page 126, line 23. *Ambianis*.—Amiens.

Page 128, line 24, *Shene*.—Sheen, near Richmond.

Page 130, line 12. *Marchio Dublinæ*.—For the eight appellants, see note to page 8, line 19, at p. 157. There was no *marquis of Dublin* at this time; the title existed little more than two years.

Page 133, line 6. *studuit . . . ad Solomonis gloriam pervenire*.—"Solomoni magno in expensis æquiparabatur. (Fordun, 1068.)

Page 135, line 1. *Lamasie*.—Llanvais, or Llamausy, near Beaumaris. This house of Franciscans, or Friars Minor, was founded before 1240. See Tanner's Not., Stevens's Mon.; where also see this form of the word.

Page 136, line 5. *claiam*.—Cleia, cleta, clades, a hurdle.

Line 19. *Jacobitæ*.—Dominicans, called also Black Friars, or Preaching Friars.

Line 23. *de Mortuo Mari*.—Mortimer.

Last line. *frater iste qui fratres suos regi accusavit*.—This was the friar of Leicester (see page 24, line 14), who had accused ten of his brethren of exciting the people against Henry IV. The Welsh were devoted adherents of Richard, as an enemy to whom this friar met his fate.

Page 137, line 7. *de Monte Forti*.—Joanna of Navarre had married John de Montfort, duke of Britany, Sept. 11, 1386; and was a widow and guardian of her son the young duke, on Nov. 1, 1399.

Line 20. *provocans ipsum ad duellum*.—(See Monstrelet, I. cap. ix.)

Page 139, line 2. *in castro ducis Roseyæ*.—Richard, or rather perhaps the reputed Richard King of England, appears to have been detained first under the custody of Robert III.; after a short time he was delivered to sir David Fleming, lord of Cumbernauld; upon the death of Robert III. in 1406, the duke of Albany the regent obtained possession of his person,

and from that time till his death Richard was a prisoner in Stirling Castle. (See Tytler's Scotland, iii. p. 331.)

Line 12. *parliamentum apud Coventriam*.—Walsingham (369-370) speaks of an unusual tax extorted at this parliament, the accounts of which were ordered to be burnt, that no memorial of it might remain.

Page 140, line 11. *Comes Northumbria*, &c.—This section is thus introduced in the "Eulogium," interrupting the narrative relating to the archbishop of York's death.

Line 20. *Coyff*.—So written; it should be, as Mr. Nichols has informed me, *Coyty*, in Glamorganshire, where there was a castle, the ruins of which remain.

Page 141, line 15. *cerco incendit quendam domum*, &c.—Compare the account of the murder of the duke of Orleans. (Monstrelet, I. cap. xxxvi.)

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- † The land of the Western *meres*, not *moors*.

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ERRATA.

- Page 21, line 19, *for* "and vnto Plasshe," *read* "and led vnto Plasshe."
 ,, 70, line 16, *after* "saide erle," place the semicolon from preceding line.
 ,, 124, line 12, *for* "Radcolbrigge," *read* "Radcotbrigge."
 ,, 134, line 10, *for* "sanctum Paulum," *read* "ad sanctum Paulum."
 ,, 136, line 6, *for* "suspendaris," *read* "suspenderis."
 ,, ,, last line, *for* "acensavit," *read* "accusavit."
 ,, 141, line 3, *for* "xx^{am}," *read* "x^{am}."

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